The Nation

VOL. LX-NO. 1557.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1895.

The Week.

THE decision of the Supreme Court to hear a reargument of the income tax case before a full bench has given general satisfaction. The judgment of the 8th of April left the matter in an exceedingly unsatisfactory condition for the public and the Government, and in a by no means creditable one for the court. The passage of two judges from the negative to the affirmative side, in the middle of the judgment, without any explanation, was unfortunate in many ways. It may be right and proper that, when the court is equally divided, there should be no deliverance, but when two judges who have already passed and spoken on one part of an act take a different view of another part, but give no reason why, it makes poor laymen feel uncomfortable. Then the stare decisis doctrine, on which the Government took its stand so boldly, was not a pleasant one for the thinking portion of the American public. It was not agreeable to hear that an interpretation of the Constitution made four or five years after its adoption, in a totally different world from ours, was binding on all the judges a hundred or it might be two hundred years later. One of the great glories of Lord Mansfield is in having laid in England the foundations of commercial law: but suppose he had said that the fathers of English jurisprudence knew nothing about bills of exchange, or the custom of merchants, and that he therefore was not going to take any notice of them-how would he stand with this generation? And yet the Supreme Court has left us as regards the income tax very much where Englishmen would have been if Mansfield had said the only kind of property known to English law was real property. Our judges said one hundred years ago that land was the only source of income of which the Court would take notice. Since then new sources of income by the hundred have arisen, and a community of people, living by salaries, larger than the whole American nation in 1795, has come into existence. Surely we ought to be able to get the Court to explain to us what the Constitution has to say about salaries as income. Judge Miller's dictum, that a tax on salaries or professional incomes is "an excise," because the man who pays the excise can always charge it to his clients or employers, sounds very

fluence in this country who were screaming for a war with Spain on account of the Alliança affair, and who could not even wait to hear whether Spain avowed or disavowed the act of the officer who fired the shot. Yet it is a fact, an amazing fact, that after Spain had disavowed the act and had promised investigation and reparation, a Senator of the United States expressed his regret that she had not refused satisfaction, and thereby given us an excuse for fighting her and seizing Cuba. The whole affair is now amicably settled. Spain finds that the commander of her gunboat exceeded his orders: she therefore disciplines him, disavows and apologizes for his unauthorized act, and promises that nothing of the kind shall occur again. Probably the only lasting mourner will be Senator Frye. As to the war correspondents, they can recoup themselves out of Nicaragua or Venezuela, and, when everything else fails, they can rely upon Mrs. Dominis, the ex-Queen of the Hawaiian Islands. The treasonable conduct of this woman in waving her handkerchief to the returning roadworkers has been somewhat obscured by the events at Corinto, but it is not too late to return to that subject.

We are often accused unwarrantably of throwing slights and disrepute on our own profession of "journalism," and denying its claims to human respect. But we ask any educated and intelligent man who would censure us to peruse the foreign articles of the Tribune on Nicaragua and Venezuela during the last two or three months. We do not think there is a more puzzling phenomenon in American society to-day than that the writer of the following which we take from Sunday's issue should actually be paid for it, and should be presented to the country as a professor of international law and public merals. Does not its appearance in a journal of old standing and the organ of a great party not only make journalism ridiculous, but make the American press contemptible in the eyes of instructed mankind?

"There have been unpatriotic consors of "There have been unparticule consers of American diplomatic methasis who have strenuously objected to the active use made of the navy during recent years. They have been horrified by the preparations for coercing Chili after the Valparasis outrage to the Ealtimore's men, by the landing of marines at Honelulu, and by the concentration of a strong naval squadron in Rio de Janeiro. What would these querulous critics have said if the United States Government had assessed a ball of dimages aramst a like the doctrine that the foreigner pays the customs duty: that is, what the men of the seventeenth century used to call "a merrie conceit."

It is hard to believe that a few weeks ago there were people in positions of in
The United States Government had assessed a bill of damages against a foreign state, demanded payment at sight, and sent a fleet to the chief port to enforce collection by seizure of the customs revenues? They would probably have characterized the performance as essentially paratical, and have condemned the outrage as a crime against enviltation. England has no right in law or in morals to occupy foreign territory, to exercise sovereignty, and to

seize revenues in payment of an indomnity levied ex parte on the 'stand-and-deliver' principle. Because England does this thing, and President Cleveland tolerates and sanctions it, these cavilling censors may be reconciled to it temporarily as one of the necessary details of imperial policy; but what a rabadub of abuse there would be if the American navy were employed in that way!"

The writer of this is probably a young fellow who evidently not only has no knowledge either of the history of international law or of its rules, but has not heard of its existence. Had he done so, he would have been a little cautious in attacking the "unpatriotic censors" and giving his reasons. But he not only attacks them, but gives his own droll explanation of their error. He has not the least idea, any more than a French peasant or a Tennessee miner, of any difference between the Chilian or Honolulu case and the Nicaraguan case, and he lets it out with childlike simplicity. Now, these are the things which create popular contempt for journalism and make men ashamed to follow it as a calling. There is no calling like it in the indifference of its professors to excellence, accuracy, or improvement. In the legal, or medical, or clerical professions people try to employ the best men, the men who know, who can be trusted, who are accurate, who can predict; and this acts as a constant stimulus to all the members to do better, to be right, to be equipped for emergencies. In journalism any little man like this "young diplomatist" of the Tribune is picked up at a small salary, and allowed to pour forth column after column, month after month, of howling nonsense, displaying the crassest ignorance of his subject and the most shameless indifference to his own intellectual reputation, on the sole condition that he shall try to discredit somebody, or give pain to somebody, or make samebody besides himself ridiculous. What makes all this the more mysterious is that no metropolitan journal, certainly, has the smallest difficulty in getting competent men to discuss questions of international law. The cities and the colleges are full of them. They are passed by, and journalism made silly, by a desire to annoy the Administration and bring it into disrepute, not with intelligent people, but with fools and ignoramuses. In no other profession could men of any standing be got to degrade their own calling in this way, and that is why "the newspapers" are a good deal of a laughing-stock.

Nicaragua would never have refused to pay England the \$75,000 demanded had she not supposed that the United States would back her up in big-brotherly style. This gives us a hint of the hot water the squabbling Central and South Americans would keep us in all the while if the Monroe doctors had their way. Every time they felt like insulting a European power, every time one of their mushroom Presidents undertook to strengthen himself at home by doubling up his small-boy fist at big Great Britain, we should have to interfere to make the sacred soil of America a secure refuge for such antics. This possibility was clearly seen and pointed out by Calhoun in 1848, when he said of the theory of some of the Monroe doctrinaires of that day, that "it puts it in the power of other countries on this continent to make us a party to all their wars." When one considers the enormous aptitude of South Americans for war, and reflects how this would become practically infinite if they had to risk neither their own skins nor their own purses, it is clear that we shall have peace and comfort only when they are given clearly to understand that they must settle their own quarrels. If we have a protectorate over the half-civilized republics of Central America, we must be answerable for their conduct to foreigners and to each other. It follows logically that we must assume all pecuniary obligations which are made the basis of foreign claims against them. It would be much easier for us to pay \$75,000 for Nicaragua than to go to war or even to go into a court of arbitration on her account. But think of the consequences of either paying or arbitrating for the half-breed governments of Central and South America. Money is what they all stand most in need of. Money is what they are always boiling with revolutions for. If Uncle Sam once becomes their paymaster, they will never be out of foreign difficulties as long as the world stands.

The attempt to commit the Democratic party of Illinois to the free coinage of silver a year in advance of the time for holding the State convention, is so obviously a cheat that the opponents of the policy have determined to split the party rather than submit to it. They have accordingly sent circulars throughout the State recommending Democrats to pay no attention to the call, and to treat the proposed convention as a bogus affair altogether. According to all party usages and rules, the platform of the last national convention governs the Democrats of Illinois and of every other State. Both this platform and the last one adopted by the Democrats of Illinois themselves are diametrically opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement. Neither the one nor the other of these platforms can be overturned except by conventions called in

time. The only effect of adopting extraordinary ways and times will be to disrupt a party which is in a minority now, and which will be battered out of all shape if this cheating policy is persisted in. The blatherskites and Populists who have secured a majority of the State committee, or rather a majority of a quorum, do not dare to take the chances of a campaign of education in their own party. They want to take advantage of a temporary craze produced by a combination of cunning lies and funny pictures called 'Coin's Financial School,' before there has been any opportunity to answer them. If they had any sense at all as party managers, they would be glad that a whole year intervenes before the regular time comes for holding the convention, so that public opinion may settle down to some solid basis of facts before platform-making becomes necessurv.

Reports come from Chicago that the silver wing of the Illinois Democrats is 'going over into the Populist camp." basis for belief in this story is found in the announcement that the leader of the Populist party in Chicago will be sent in the delegation from his ward to the snap convention that has been called by the free-coinage men. It is to be hoped on every account that such a fusion will be carried through, and that all of the silver lunatics will thus get together in a single organization. The best thing that could possibly happen to the country would be to have all the people who believe in free coinage, whether they have been Republicans, Democrats, or Populists, get together on one side, and those who believe in sound money on the other. The movement for the snap Democratic convention in Illinois promises to hasten this result, and, while it may temporarily injure Democratic prospects, it will in the end prove a good thing all around to have the issue thus sharply made.

April 24 was a bad day for the 16-to-1 silverites. In the first place, the Iroquois Club of Chicago, which holds the same relation to the Democratic party there that the Manhattan Club does in New York, voted by more than two to one that the free coinage of silver "would be most unfortunate at this time, when signs of returning prosperity and renewed confidence are multiplying." The silverites tried to attach amendments of one kind or another to this resolution, but were regularly voted down. That was a very poor showing of practical results for Coin's Financial School, seeing that it was open all last year within a stone's throw of the clubhouse and had the attendance of the leading Iroquois. But this rebuff was not so bad as the one received at the Democratic conference at Des Moines, Ia., where a resolution was adopted declaring the usual way and held at the usual that "it is the sense of this conference

that the two monetary metals should be kept at a parity." At this conference the 16-to-1 silverites wanted to hold an early State convention, in order to advantage of the temporary flurry produced by "Coin's" picture-book. The conference, however, voted to put it off to August 7. In addition to these things, Congressman McCreary of Kentucky, who is a candidate for the Senate in opposition to Mr. Blackburn, declared himself unalterably opposed to free coinage, except as part of an international agreement, and Senator Brice of Ohio made a similar declaration.

The Waring episode has been very useful in bringing in information about the composition of the Grand Army, but there is very little of it which most people did not know already. The story which a well-known New Yorker tells in the Evening Post of 540 desertions out of 800 men in one regiment accounts for at least 540 of Waring's Grand Army assailants. We do not believe that any organization that has ever existed has done more to diffuse over a wide area, and among the plain people of the community, light views of the crimes of perjury and fraud and misrepresentation, when committed against the Government. It will take more than one generation to eliminate the pension poison from American morals, There is hardly a village in the land which does not contain two or three men who have lied about their careers and their ailments, and got others to lie on their behalf, for the purpose of extracting a paltry sum from the public treasury. The old theologians used to talk much of "national sins," but we doubt if, in the history of any country, a sin could be discovered more truly deserving the name of "national" than the pension fraud. Its guilt has been deepened, too, by the fact that it had its instigation or temptation in some of the noblest feelings of the human heart-love of country, gratitude to its defenders, tenderness for the memory of friends and relatives who had died in its cause. The deserters and bounty-jumpers and bummers who have traded on these emotions are very like the impostors who, on account of a lost purse, beg a dollar to enable them to reach the bedside of a dying mother. The funniest episode in their career is, undoubtedly, the demand made on Mayor Strong that he shall use the offices of the city government to protect them from criticism-that is, that he shall stop streetcleaning because somebody has called bummers bummers. The only protection to which these worthies are entitled is that afforded by the laws of the land and their own powers of vituperation.

The chief distinction of the Grand Army one which nobody can deny it-is that of being the only political organization in history whose main object was the procuring of a cash dividend for each mem-

Every other political party of which we have any record has professed in some manner to seek the happiness or profit of the community at large, and its own solely as a sharer in the general weal. The Grand Army, however, makes no such pretensions. It says frankly that it will turn any party out of power, and any functionary out of office, who does not settle with it on the basis of monthly payments to each member "on the instalment plan." How this will affect the national credit or the public revenues, it says openly, it does not care in the least. It puts the country to ransom just as the condottieri did the small states of Italy in the Middle Ages. "We saved you," it says to us all; "now settle." We could, however, stand this impudence, but to ask that, besides paying, we must not inquire what we are paying for, or whether our captors were ever under fire in our behalf, is a little too much. We will pay, but we will not keep silent. We will not erect bounty-jumpers, deserters, skulkers, malingerers, and pension cheats into a sacred class of whom nobody must speak irreverently. They must take popular contempt along with their monthly "divvy."

It ought to surprise nobody to learn that civil-service reform is in peril at the hands of the Legislature, that not only is the bill which has been drafted to extend its operation in danger, but that the prospect is favorable for the passage of another bill which removes from the control of the civil-service regulations more than three-fourths of those now subject to them. This bill proposes to except from the operation of the rules "positions the compensation of which does not exceed \$4 per day." An analysis shows that this would put back under the spoils system 67 per cent. of the places now subject to examination in this city, 85 per cent. in Brooklyn, and 86 per cent. in the State service: while most of the higher positions would also be affected, as these are generally filled by promotion from lower grades. Practically this would be about the same thing as repealing the civil-service law. The Republican majority in both houses is composed almost entirely of men who have no sympathy with reform of any kind, and who are out of all patience with a law which stands in the way of a "clean sweep" of all the offices and the filling of them with men who will not have to show any other qualification than political activity. The Governor can be depended upon to veto any bill nullifying the present law in part or in whole, but he is not likely to have influence enough to get the scope of the law extended. The literary men to whom is assigned the work of constructing the platform in the next Republican State convention will have a tremendous task on their hands when they come to treat of the work of this Legislature. The promises of last year's platform have all been broken, and a new lot will need to be invented which

will not be so absurd on their face as to make the whole State laugh at the sight of them.

The passage of the Platt bi-partisan police bill by the Assembly was, as Mr. Pavey's speech showed, a genuine Platt victory. It was therefore a rebuke to the Committee of Seventy and a defiance to the "whole gang of reformers," for the real police-reform bills which these representatives of the city asked to have passed were not even considered. The bill which is now before the mayor for a hearing is in no sense a reform measure. It is, on the contrary, much more objectionable than the present law, for it engrafts upon our statutes for the first time, so far as police administration is concerned, the bipartisan principle to which we owe all the police corruption, blackmail, and scandal of the past thirty years. Heretofore the principle has been put in operation without requirement of law. If this Platt bill be made law, its application will thenceforth be mandatory. The mayor will of course give a full and free hearing to all parties on this subject, and we have no doubt that the opponents of the bill will see to it that their side is well presented. It will be interesting to see who appears for the other side. Nobody advocated the bill at Albany save Platt and his personal agents. If there are other advocates of it, men who really represent sentiment in this city, they ought to appear before the mayor now.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt has accepted Mayor Strong's offer of a police commissionership, and the city is to be congratulated on securing his services. He will be the best man in the Police Board since Thomas C. Acton and Joel B. Erhardt. After the departure of those men from office, the practice sprang up of appointing to the board seedy adventurers and professional politicians without any reputable business, men who had not been able to earn a living in any walk of life save that of politics. In selecting Mr. Roosevelt, and, before him, Col. Andrews, Mayor Strong has returned to the better practice of earlier days. Both these men have had no difficulty in obtaining positions and salaries on their merits. They meet what we have repeatedly urged should be the final test in all applications for public office, ability to show that private individuals or corporations have been willing to pay them salaries in reputable business. This test neither Murray, nor Kerwin, nor "Jimmy" Martin, nor "Johnny" McClave, nor Sheehan, nor any others of the long line of bi partisans could meet. We are confident that with Mesers. Andrews and Roosevelt in the board, especially if the mayor is able to find two other equally fit men to work with them, a new era in police administration will be opened, Neither one of these men can be used for

political purposes, and both are well qualified by experience and disposition to conduct the department in a manner most advantageous to the public—that is, intelligently and honestly.

Something ought to be done to the lawyers who abuse their office as members of the bar in trying to save criminals from the death sentence in this State. The appeals in Buchanan's case to the British Minister, to the Supreme Court in Washington, to federal judges for a habeas corpus, and then to the Supreme Court on appeal, are all really modes of advertising the counsellor. They are not meant to help the prisoner. The lawyer knows well they cannot help him, though they may be instrumental in getting money out of his friends. They are really ways of making the lawyer notorious, and they ought to be punished or repressed in some manner by the Supreme Court. A lawyer who "carries on" in this way, is what a quack is in the medical profession, and ought to be restrained of his liberty. Either he is too ignorant to practise at the bar, or he pretends to be ignorant for purposes of extortion. The subject is a good one for discussion at the Bar Association. These doings help to bring the administration of justice into greater and greater contempt, though, Heaven knows, the difficulty of getting a jury to try a corrupt policeman, as shown in McLaughlin's case, has already brought it pretty low in popular estimation.

The Democratic managers in Tennessee have done their best to turn over the State to the Republicans in next year's election. Last November, through Democratic indifference and disgust over the wretched behavior of a Democratic Congress, and after a vigorous Republican campaign, the Democratic Governor was defeated for reelection by about 700 votes. If the plurality had been 700 the other way, nobody would have thought of disputing the result. But the Democrate controlled the new Legislature, and the managers resolved, in defiance of all precedent and without warrant from the Constitution, to throw out enough Republican votes to count in Gov. Turney for another term, allowing him to hold over while an investigation was made which should furnish some show of excuse for their course. The expected report has now been made by the legislative committee, and its acceptance is assured. The Democrats will thus avoid losing the governorship this time, but the indignation over the course adopted by the machine is so intense and widespread in the party that the Republicans will stand an excellent chance of carrying the State next year by a majority too large to be questioned. The countingout game has been tried repeatedly in this country, both North and South, during the past twenty years, and there has never been a case when it did not react upon the party which resorted to it.

THE GRAND ARMY'S PROGRESS.

THERE has been a mighty thundering about the Grand Army in the past few days, but we have heard no still small voice asking, What are the facts? Pensioners and would-be pensioners, veterans with votes to sell, and legislators and would-be legislators eager to buy them, have been thrown into convulsions of noble rage at the mere hint that their organization stood for anything but the purest and most unselfish patriotism. To the question whether the Grand Army is what it professes to be, no one has risen to speak. Has it fallen away altogether from its original objects? Has it become a spoils-seeking, cash-hunting corporation, and ceased wholly to be an association for mutual benefit and the preservation of patriotic memories?

We are able to answer these questions out of the records of the Grand Army itself. A little volume has just been published by Fowler & Wells, called 'A Diary of the Grand Army of the Republic,' and in it are given the resolutions passed at the various encampments of the order from the beginning. Simply by following these along from year to year, one may trace the perversion of the Army to base ends, and out of its own official utterances show what a veritable rake's progress it has made.

The Grand Army was founded at Springfield, Ill., in the winter of 1865-'66, and its objects were then described as follows:

"(1.) To preserve and strengthen those kind and fraternal feelings which bind together the soldiers, sailors, and marines who united to suppress the late rebellion, and to perpetuate the history and memory of the dead, "(2.) To assist such former comrades in arms

"(2.) To assist such former comrades in arms as need help and protection, and to extend needful aid to the widows and orphans of those who have fallen.

"(3.) To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America, based upon a paramount respect for and fidelity to the national constitution and laws; to discountenance whatever tends to weaken loyalty, incites to insurrection, treason, and rebellion, or in any manner impairs the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions, and to encourage the spirit of universal liberty, equal rights and justice to all men."

Not a word here about pensions, not a word about offices. Mutual assistance and good citizenship were the end and aim. In fact, so late as 1884, we find that a collection was taken up for a comrade who had lost a leg in a railroad accident. This was proposed by "Comrade Tanner," presumably our old friend the "Corp," who certainly, in the light of his later theories, has a just claim on the Government for all that he himself contributed on the occasion.

But politicians outside and inside the Grand Army were not slow in finding out the possibility of exploiting "the soldier vote," and the soldier vote showed itself more and more willing to be exploited for a consideration. Trace the evolution of the idea, now become so harmful in our public service, that a veteran, no matter what his character or capacity, is entitled to the offices. Its beginnings appear in

1868, when Congress was urged to provide that "honorable service as a soldier or sailor should constitute a qualification for appointment." By 1881 the President was called upon to see to it that the laws which pliant Congress had by that time passed, giving the preference to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors, should be "strictly enforced." In 1883 the angry attention of the Army was fixed upon those comrades holding official positions under the Government whose proper administration demanded a large force, but who employed very few comrades, and, in some cases, had turned them out to make room for civilians." Comrades unfortunately in the latter position were exhorted to "refuse to submit to such dictation" and to "hold the fort"-meaning the offices. The encampment of 1893 explicitly demanded laws "which would effectually guarantee a rreference to veterans of the rebellion in public employment under the United

This growth of the mania for office did not go on without efforts to check it, nor without many plain words spoken in rebuke of it. In 1871 a resolution was passed declaring that "any comrade who endeavors to use the order as a political engine, for the purpose of gratifying any selfish political ambition, is recreant to his duty to his comrades." More than one of the early commanders-in-chief solemnly warned the Army of the evils and dangers upon which it was rushing. Gen. Devens, for example, said in 1875:

"It [the order] has no system of politics in which all cannot unite (whatever other differences they may have as to men or measures) who agree that what was done to maintain the Government was demanded by the highest consideration of patriotism and duty. Did it have any political objects in a narrow or individual sense; was it intended to elevate this man or party to power and place, or to prevent another from obtaining it, a proper and deep distrust would and ought to prevail in reference to it. No body of citizens, even if they have been soldiers, can be allowed to separate themselves in their political relations from the great body of their fellow-citizens and form a distinct class, without just ground of objection and complaint."

Compare these sober words of the Massachusetts soldier and orator with Gen. Collis's latter-day blast, telling how the Grand Army is now "devoting its energies to military education in the public schools," and is soon going to make itself "felt upon the subject of the immigration laws," with much else that the first leaders of the organization would have regarded as giving "just ground of objection and complaint."

It is in the matter of pensions, however, that the progressive sale of the Army to the devil—meaning the politicians—can most clearly be traced. At first nothing but "equalizing bounties" was asked for. A system of cooperative life insurance was discussed for two or three years in the period when self-help was thought of, but was never adopted. In 1871 it was "recommended that the provisions of the bounty law be extended to soldiers, sailors, and marines discharged by reason of disease contracted in the service." By 1874 the

tide began to rise, and there was a demand for "increased pensions." Soon came along "arrears of pensions," pensions for "survivors of rebel prisons" without proof of disability, "service pensions," 'per-diem pensions," and all the other inventiors to frighten and bribe politicians and wreck the Treasury. Nowhere was there recognition of the vast sums actually being paid out. When the nation's annual pension bill was leaping up from \$28,000,000 to \$64,000,000, thence to \$106,-000,000 and \$158,000,000, the cry for new largesses was ever louder and more shameless. Even after the scandalous and wicked dependent-pension law of 1890, the Grand Army declared that this "would not satisfy the veterans." Nothing would satisfy them except an absolute turning over of the Treasury to their pillaging

Such another record of progressive greed and dishonesty it would be hard to match. In fact, for ten years back the mask has been off the Grand Army. It used to have cooler heads, better advisers and leaders. The reckless pension intrigues were brought up year after year, but were regularly voted down. Soon, however, the minority became a majority, only to have to fight a still more reckless minority, which in turn captured the Army after a year or two of struggle. For at least ten years all pretence of saner counsels or self-restraint has been abandoned, and the more wild the scheme, the more unblushing the greed, the more eager and unconcealed the rallying of the Grand Army to its support.

These years of culminating shame have at last broken the prestige of the Army. Politicians of the baser sort may tremble at it still, the perfunctory frothing of the newspapers over it may go on at each new imagined insult, but the people as a whole, thousands and thousands of honest veterans themselves, are disgusted with it. Ten years ago a public official who spoke ill of it would have taken his life in his hands. Now he can smile at the yelping, for the rake's progress of the Grand Army has been too openly and disagreeably brought home to the American people to leave them much concern for an organization which has outlived its usefulness and its honor.

WHO ARE EXCLUDED.

Now that Col. Waring's spirited and sensible conduct is attracting public attention to the arrogant demands of the Grand Army for the veterans, it is well to point out what an entirely un-American principle of exclusiveness this body wishes to apply in filling and keeping filled all positions in the public service. In the first place, by making service in the civil war (one can hardly call it the "late" war after thirty years, although, apparently, the Grand Army has read no United States history since 1865) a prerequisite qualification, there is a depreciatory edict

uttered against all female service. Northern or Southern, native or foreign, old or young, no woman can be employed as long as there is a veteran claimant. This is a deliberate going backwards. One of the most striking incidents in the development of thirty years-but that, as we have said, the G. A. R. ignores-is the admission of women to multifarious employments of which the old law and practice knew nothing. There were times when the appearance of a woman in a department of the public service was sure to suggest dishonorable considerations; the institution of the classified service and competitive examinations has altered all that, and the extensive admission of women to work of all kinds suited to their constitution has been hailed by all sound patriots as a distinctly upward step in our national history. Yet the pressure of the "veterans" for preference in any and all cases, as establishing a paramount claim from which women are absolutely and physically excluded, tends to thrust them back to where they were before the war. It is declaring not that the aunts but the uncles shall have the prior claim with the rulers of our public service. Is the nation prepared to see this brand of inferiority set on its women?

Secondly, it is a deliberate exclusion of all men who are still in that period of life when their services are most likely to be useful. The war ended thirty years ago. It may be fairly estimated that the great majority of those who were mustered out in August, 1865, were over twenty-five years old. Really the line might be drawn at some years older with equity; but, for the sake of argument, and remembering that there were some very juvenile enlistments even to the last. let us say that the fifty-year limit will part the veterans from the rest of the nation in 1895. The "old soldier," therefore, declares that he is to be held, ipso facto, more competent for the public service than any one under fifty years old. One would think the mere statement of this principle of exclusion and preference was enough to cast ridicule on it. To say that the nation and the States and the cities shall solemnly announce that semi-centenarians are especially wanted in our public service, including positions of manual labor for which the women would not be competitors, is a little too absurd.

Thirdly, the veteran theory declares that, among men over fifty, any one who went to the war is more valuable for the public service than one who "stayed at home." This argument has been directly put in the last few days in the Legislature of Massachusetts. That is, when we are estimating the value of the probable services of those of our fellow-citizens who are in the decline of life, we are not to regard what they are proving themselves to be now, nor what they have proved themselves for thirty years past, but judge them solely by one short period

—perhaps a few months or less in their career—when they belonged to the rising generation; that is to say, on a principle which cannot possibly give any indication of their fitness.

One eloquent defender of the rights of the veteran informed the Massachusetts Legislature "that when he enlisted in the war of the Rebellion, he was not asked to pass any civil service nor any snivel service." It is not probable that any one enlisting in an army would ever be called upon to pass a civil-service examination. But the very statement shows that in the heat of the war we accepted enlistments indiscriminately; and we are now reaping the fruit of that want of discrimination in the exhibitions that such veterans make of themselves. The use of a sneer that was antiquated ten years ago shows how little the "veteran" has kept up with the times, and is itself an argument against his arrogant demands.

It may be anticipated, however, that the Grand Army will make very light of our argument that women and younger men would be excluded. It has been more than once urged that as the veterans pass off the stage, their sens and daughters should have equal precedence with themselves - in other words, that we should establish an order of military nobility: that the sons and daughters of men who gained prominence in fighting should have the prior claim to public employment and public pay. If this is not reviving the system of William the Conqueror and Oliver Cromwell, it is hard to say what would be. Of course, a large number of those who press the cause of the veteran are careful to say that all they ask is that he shall be preferred if competent for the work. But what constitutes competency? Why, the fact that he was a veteran; and there they think the discussion ought to close.

THE SECRET OF DECLINING PRICES.

WE thought that in time, in spite of 'Coin's Financial School, 'somebody would rise up and attempt to account for the fall in the price of some particular commodity by advancing reasons disconnected with the silver question; and so it has proved. Unmindful of the "crime of 1873." and of the baleful influence which the repeal of the Sherman act is supposed to have exerted, the Iron Age publishes the statistics of one of the copper mines in the Lake Superior district, and affirms that the decrease in cost of production must be accounted for outside of any "appreciation of gold." A little table given is of much significance. Below is printed the product of copper in pounds of the Quincy mine, the yield, and the average cost for thirty years:

	Yield per cubic							
	Product.	f thom.	t oat per					
	Pounds	Founds.	pound					
Year.	ingot.	copper.	Cents					
144	2,498,574	5e5.2	26.71					
1870	2.497.500	5.8	14.90					
1875	2,730,300	485	15.79					

1878	2,565,500	:027	14.01
1881	5,703,000	767	10,000
1885.	5,848,530	710	7.50
1890	8,064,253	_assa	03.51
1884	15.484.014	554	5.68

It will be seen that the mine has not increased in average richness of ore, the yield per fathom being in 1894 about the same as in 1864; nevertheless the total output has increased seven times, while the cost of production per pound is but a fifth of what it was in 1864. Possibly it will be argued that wages have been cut down. The Quincy mine reports the average monthly wages earned by its miners under the contract system, so that the following table was easily compiled:

1870	\$46 09	1870	16	SN.	76
1871	47 08	1580		49	700
1872	60.62	1881		48	54
1873	62 92	1882		44	Ni
1874	48 38	1887.		44	(81
1875	46.74	15000		410	15
1876	47.13	1884)		3/2	4763
1877	43.79	1884		341	70
1878	41.50				

From this table it will be seen that wages in 1890 and 1894 were the highest since 1873. So the decrease in cost has not been at the expense of the laboring men. The true causes for this remarkable decline in the cost of mining copper are succinctly stated by the *Iron Age* thus:

"The lowering in cost is, of course, due to a multiplicity of improvements in every department. We need only allude to the introduction of high explosives, the use of machine drilling, the employment of modern stamps for crushing the rock, the better methods of handling, the more economical engines for hoisting and pumping, the lowering of the cost of transporting the rock, the cheapening of the supplies, the reduction in smelting expenses and transportation to market, the lessening of cost of selling, and the distribution over a larger product of the general expenses and of outlays for administration."

"We cannot accept for this industry any claim that 'appreciation of gold' led to the steady decline," continues the *Iron Age*; "it was the ability to sell at lower prices, coupled with the necessity to do so brought about by vigorous competition from other great producing districts in all parts of the world, which brought about the lower level of prices."

It may also be recorded that the Quincy mine paid \$400,000 in dividends in 1894. Since all concerned—the shareholders, the miners, and the consuming public—profited by the experience of this company during the last thirty years, it would seem that civilization had been advanced by so n:uch. And thus another proof is added to the long list, that the decline in commodities is not due to an appreciation of gold, and that when accompanied by results like those in the Quincy case, even though forced through competition, such declines are blessings without disguise.

It is worth while to take a glance backward in order to see how the experience of the Quincy mine harmonizes with the experience of the world in general. Beginning in 1873 (the favorite starting-point of the silverites when they want to show how prices have been depressed by the

scarcity of gold), we find that the production of copper increased 97 per cent. in the next thirteen years, to 1885. This is according to Sauerbeck's tables. This increase was not confined to the United States alone. Spain, Portugal, Chili, and Germany had their share in it. It was during this period that the great copper mines of Montana were brought to light, while new discoveries in Arizona and in Canada added their quota to the world's product. This enormous output depressed copper to about one-half of its former price, and led to one of the most disastrous speculations on record. When the price had reached what was considered its lowest possible point, a syndicate in Paris, headed by a very rich man named Secretan, conceived the idea of buying up all the copper in the world's markets and contracting for the future supply. They began when copper was at £40 per ton in London and they carried the price up to £85 in a few months. This advance stimulated the production enormously. The syndicate was obliged to buy more than it had expected. To gain help it induced a large joint-stock company, the Société des Métaux, to join in the speculation. After these two concerns had taken all they could carry, they induced a great banking company, the Comptoir d'Escompte, to join them in "carrying copper." The output continued to increase till one fine day the Secretan syndicate, the Société des Métaux, and the Comptoir d'Escompte went down in a common ruin and the price of copper dropped to £35 per ton. Yet nobody thought of attributing the fall of copper to a scarcity of gold or to the demonetization of silver until the Secretan speculation had been generally forgotten.

THE NEW BULGARIA.

A STRANGE experiment in self-government was made when, seventeen years ago, the European powers created the principality of Bulgaria. The conditions seemed to render its success impossible. Two millions of peasants, suddenly freed from a five-century-long servitude, were started in national life with a ready-made constitution of which manhood suffrage and parliamentary government were the principal features. They were ignorant and without leaders. There was not among them even a family with a claim to rule. They had no army, though surrounded by hostile or jealous neighbors, and they chose for a ruler a young man of twenty-two, as inexperienced as themselves. It is true that the Bulgarians had a strong national spirit which the Turks had never been able to destroy. They were stanchly loyal to their church, and ardently attached to the land which they cultivated. Moreover, a singular desire for education had been aroused in them, mainly by the efforts of American missionaries.

which these facts undoubtedly gave, any | million inhabitants there are not three

intelligent student of history at that time would have been justified in predicting the speedy failure of the experiment. especially if he could have foreseen the events of the following years. Before the first decade of their national life had passed, these unarmed peasants were called upon to repel an unprovoked invasion. Their victorious leader was abducted like the heroine of a dime-novel, to be succeeded by one who apparently lacks all the best qualities of a ruler. The richest part of their country was nearly deserted by its inhabitants, who emigrated by the tens of thousands to Turkey. And the most insidious and determined enemy of their independence proved to be the Power which had liberated them from their bondage. In addition to all this, the state has been ruled from the beginning by a knot of self-taught officials, the most distinguished of whom was the son of a peasant. The people at large have been generally indifferent to, and have rarely availed themselves of, their constitutional rights, while plots, assassinations, intrigues, and corrupt elections have characterized their political history.

Under such circumstances it would have been remarkable had the Bulgarians merely maintained their independence and kept intact their constitutional liberties. They have done this and far more. Since 1886 their territory has been increased one-third by the rich province of East Rumelia, whose inhabitants preferred union with Bulgaria to the semi-independence granted by the Treaty of Berlin. Their finances have been so skilfully managed that, at the end of the first eleven years of their national life, their receipts had exceeded their expenditures by six and a quarter million dollars. In addition to meeting their ordinary expenses, they have equipped their army, paid for the war with Servia, built railways, established a national bank, and reduced their debt so that it now amounts to only a year and a half's revenue.

The increase of the national wealth is indicated by the fact that within six years they have added more than a million acres to their wheatfields, vineyards, and market-gardens; their annual imports have increased by more than \$2,000,000, while their exports have more than doubled. The towns which, under the Turk, were falling to decay are being rebuilt with broad, well-paved streets, lined with offices, banks, barracks, and well-stocked shops. From one point of view, indeed, Bulgaria is to-day in an ideal position. Five-sevenths of her people are small farmers who own the ground which they till, and of the remainder a great proportion are landed proprietors. Every man. therefore, has a strong personal interest in the welfare and stability of the state. Then there are to be found in it neither the very rich nor the very poor. A recent traveller and competent observer, Mr. E. Notwithstanding the encouragement Dicey, says that in the three and a half

hundred who have twenty-five thousand dollars. On the other hand, there is hardly a Bulgarian who depends absolutely and entirely for his livelihood upon his daily earnings, and who has not some small income of his own, derived from land or houses or cattle. Beggars. it is hardly necessary to add, are practically unknown.

This is confessedly the bright side of the picture. The peasant still lives in a rude hovel hardly fit for his cattle, and is content with a diet of bread, garlie, and water. He is burdened with debt for his land, and with the weight of the taxation, which falls almost wholly on the land, the Capitulations still being in force. To the thrift of the small farmer he joins his jealousy of foreign capitalists. Too poor himself to build the necessary roads, to exploit the mines, and to improve the harbors, he permits the great natural resources of his country to remain undeveloped because of his unwillingness to borrow money for these purposes. He is too ignorant to see the absolute necessity of strengthening the state and increasing its wealth and power. There is a grave danger, indeed, to which he is blind, that when the time comes for the Turk to leave Europe, Bulgaria will not be in a position to secure her rightful share of the empire. This condition of ignorance, however, it is to be hoped, will pass away with this generation, for the extraordinary desire for education-it might almost be termed a passion-which marked the last years of their bondage, still prevails. These peasants, whose average cost of living is four cents a day, who grudge every penny spent on internal improvements, are positively munificent in the support of their schools. The annual appropriation for public instruction by the Sobranye is nearly a tenth of the whole budget. Though this apparently includes the salaries of the clergy, it excludes the sums voted by the separate municipalities for educational purposes. In a country where no one, young or old, can afford to be idle, education is compulsory upon children between the ages of eight and twelve; and the cleanest cottage in the village, the handsomest building in the town, according to the testimony of a recent traveller, is the schoolhouse. But this munificence is not confined to the children of their own citizens. With a keen farsightedness, as well as a fraternal generosity, for which it cannot be praised too highly, the Sobranye in 1890 appropriated \$600,000 for the support of Bulgarian schools in the Turkish province of Macedonia. Characteristic, too, of this enlightened spirit, which is the hope of Bulgaria to-day, is the fact that when Eastern Rumelia gave up its independent existence, the municipality of Philippopolis, the capital, changed the Parliament House into a public li-

It is impossible, of course, to foresee what time has in store for this strangely interesting people. The folly or incapacity of their present leaders may bring disaster and the loss of their independence upon them. But to-day neither Greece, Rumania, nor Servia has the promise of this "peasant state."

A DEPUTATION AT HAWARDEN.

CHESTER, April 16, 1895.

On the very threshold of England there is a spot where the traveller from America can rest, after a week of tossing by the ocean and of shaking by the mighty engines that force, against wind and wave, the iron shell in which he and its helpless tenants have been cooped. Liverpool, with its docks, its sailors, and its busy life, is too suggestive of the sea from which he has escaped. Here, in Chester, amidst Roman remains, mediæval walls, Tudor houses and shops, cathedral churches, and people who still bear the stamp of their Roman ancestry, the delight and relief of contrast to our American modernism, and to the noise, ceaseless motion, and crowding of steamer existence are inexpressibly refreshing. But within nine miles of the sleepy little town one of the most restless intellects of the human race seeks relief, in his garden and park, from the turmoil of political strife, and in his library at Hawarden has, in the investigation of almost every subject within the ken and beyond the ken of the human mind, found recreation from the harassing cares and embarrassing problems of public life.

Seeing from the papers that Mr. Gladstone was to receive on Easter Monday a deputation from Liberal clubs, of Leeds, Huddersfield, and elsewhere, we sought vainly in Chester for information regarding the event. therefore took a train for Hawarden, hoping for some news there. The little village on the elevated southern bench overlooking the Dee is the shrine of the Gladstones, but, as is seldom the case with shrines, the most devout worshippers are the denizens of the holy place. Every cottage in the hamlet has a picture of the Grand Old Man and his guardian angel. Mrs. Gladstone, or of Mr. Gladstone offering his resignation of the premiership to the Queen, or of Mr. Gladstone and his descendants for two generations. We heard from a county constable that "The Deputation" was to present a case of books to Mr. Gladstone at the Hawarden Library. The library we found to be a temporary building of sheet-iron-the walls covered with books, and the intervening space so occupied by lateral bookcases as to allow scant passageway. The collection consists in the main of Mr. Gladstone's own books, and, as might be expected from the lifelong bias of his thoughts and studies, contains more than the usual proportion of theological works arranged as Anglican, Dissenting, and so on. It is the nucleus of a large library by which the great statesman hopes to be remembered in his beloved home, and therefore the Liberal clubs of these large manufacturing cities, composed chiefly of artisans, did a graceful act in presenting, with their verbal tribute of admiration, a case of books to their old leade

Punctually, almost to the minute, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone drove up to the library. His children and his grandchildren were already there, but the Deputation was not forthcoming. An amusing flutter pervaded the party. Scouts were sent out to stop passing vehicles, lest they might contain the Deputation gone astray. At length little Jenny came running from the post-office with a telegram, and the

anxiety subsided, until the Deputation, which had missed a railroad connection, arrived in an omnibus. Fortunately their number was small, and therefore, as there was room in the very limited space round the stove in the library for us, though we were neither accredited correspondents nor delegates, we were courteously admitted. It seems almost like a breach of confidence to describe the scene, it was so private.

I had several times seen and heard the great orator in public since I first listened to his learned address on Medieval Universities when, as first Lord Rector of Edinburgh, he addressed its students nearly forty years ago. He had then just delivered one of his marvellously lucid budget speeches, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Derby's ministry, and he came almost straight from the House of Commons to talk to us as lucidly about the Middle Ages, its schools, and their system of teaching. At the election I had voted for Thomas Carlyle and against Mr. Gladstone, thinking it impossible that the member for Oxford, and one so deeply imbued with the English university system, could do justice to the peculiarities of our own. I little appreciated the amazing versatility and the elasticity of Mr. Gladstone's mind, or as little dreamt that the day would come when, as member for Midlothian, he would appeal to Scotland as against England for political support. He was then in the very prime of life. To-day he is a very old man-so old that it does not need his own assurance that not choice, but the infirmities of age-failing sight and loss of hearing-compel him to retire from active leadership. His face is furrowed with wrinkles like that of "La Liseuse" of Gerard Dow, his teeth have fallen out, his eyes are dimmer than of yore; but the magnificent masterful nose stands out more prominently and defiantly than ever. Nevertheless the fire of thought continues to burn brightly behind the withering features, which still respond to the emotions, though not as pliantly as of old, but as if with nervous effort. He walks and stands erect, but he had to ask of his audience permission to sit while he answered the set pieces which the delegates had carefully committed to memory, and which, considering the trying ordeal of addressing the greatest orator of this generation, they repeated with wonderful patness and presence of mind.

Beside him sat Mrs. Gladstone, younger, apparently, by many years than her husband. and around them stood their sturdy sons Herbert, M.P. for Leeds, and Henry; their daughter and son-in-law and grandchildren. It was as touching to watch the anxiety in Mrs. Gladstone's face before the old man began to speak, and how it gave place to relief and pleasure when he warmed up and showed his never-failing command of thoughts and power of expressing them, as it was to witness the extraordinary retention of mental power by Mr. Gladstone amidst waning physical strength. His speech was very impressively delivered. He left no room for doubting that he has retired for ever from active political life, and therefore he refrained from touching on any of the mooted questions of the day, domestic or foreign. But he gave his hearers good advice, which it is to be hoped they will foliow, rather than the principles of the ultra-radical party under such leaders as Ketr Hardie. These Socialist leaders advised their followers to subordinate all national questions to sectional issues, and, like the Irish members, to lend their aid to whichever party will pass their class measures, regardless of no small part of the Parliamentary session,

their influence on the community at large. Against such a spirit and such action, which unfortunately is too common, and is the most threatening danger on both sides of the Atlantic, Mr. Gladstone gave the following wise

counsel:

"The whole body of the people, it may be said, is now put for the first time on its trial. The political history of the English people is highly creditable; but until lately they have had but little of the temptations which invariably attend the possession and exercise of power. The upper classes have been in the possession of power until recently in a very large degree. They have been in possession of it until within the last ten years—I mean the legal possession. They have bet had an entire monopoly, but something more or less approaching a monopoly of it, and I think it is impossible for their most sanguine admirers to assert that they have always used it well. But if they have ever given way to the temptation impossible for their most sanguine admirers to assert that they have always used it well. But if they have ever given way to the temptation to misuse and to forget the responsibility it entails, they have given way not to vices belonging to them exclusively, but to temptations which beset us all. It is the possession of power that in itself constitutes the temptation; and a most serious trial is now offered to the people of England—the majority of the people, who are in possession of a greater share of the political power of the country whenever they choose to exercise it, and who have now got to show whether their temperance, their moderation, and above all their preference of the general and national interest to interests which are sectional, is such as to show that they are altegether worthy of it. That trial is a trial which I most carnestly hope they will show they are able to bear with honor and advantage, and I have always reflected with great comfort that in one respect they have already shown a remarkable capacity for the exercise of power, and that is, in the characters of the men whom they have chosen to represent them. of power, and that is, in the characters of the men whom they have chosen to represent them in Parliament, who are called the Labor mem-bers, whose conduct has been admirable, and the choice of whom has been most creditable to those whom they represent and who have sent them to the House of Commons."

He then went on to talk about books, and the healthy recreation which workingmen derive from books of fiction, but only if the books themselves be healthy. He gave them a little honnly on the harmony between science and religion, and ended by cordially inviting them, in his own and Mrs. Gladstone's name, to accept the hospitality of Hawarden.

The speech was as characteristic of the speaker in what was omitted as in what was said. That he should have been able to conceal, by even the remotest inference, what he thought on the burning questions of the moment, when he knew both sides were breathlessly waiting for his utterances, showed all the old self-control and astuteness. Also, though the flexibility of voice had gone, the wonderful power of weaving complex sentences is still intact. It was always a delight to listen to Mr. Gladstone's involved yet never, even unintentionally, misty periods, as he wove clause after clause, with the utmost deliberation, but never failed to complete his sentence and end with a word which formed the most appropriate climax. The old skill in marshalling his words is there still, but the music of the voice is gone

As he told us, no statesman of England or Scotland has remained in harness so many years as he; and now, whether he wishes it or not, he must rest. But rest to Mr. Gladstone at eighty-five is harder work than most men are willing if able to endure. This was the and deputation which he had received and addressed that day. J. DOUGLAS.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

DUBLIN, April 17, 1895.

THE Irish Land Question occupies, every year.

The bills brought in year after year by Irish members are either contemptuously rejected. or passed over for want of time. This year, however, as a result of the report of a select committee of the House of Commons, the Government have brought in a bill and carried the second reading without a division being challenged. The opponents of the bill have so far contented themselves with threats that they will mutilate it in committee, and, if they consider it necessary, that they will have it rejected by the House of Lords. As introduced the bill is of the mildest possible character. It makes the period for revision of fair rents ten years instead of fifteen; it endeavors to give effect to the principle first laid down in the Land Law of 1881, that tenant farmers are not to be liable to rent in respect of improvements they have made; and it includes certain classes of farms that have hitherto been excluded from the benefits, such as they are, of the Land Law.

There are several reasons why an amendment of the present law is urgent. The continuous fall in price of farm produce has made rents fixed ten years ago impossible. The administrators of the law, and the judges, have been drawn exclusively from the classes opposed by tradition, politics, and social circumstances to all reform and concessions to the tenant class. The decisions of the courts have resulted in the law being interpreted to mean the exact opposite of its plain grammatical intention in some cases, or in leaving it in a state of glorious uncertainty. A case recently decided by the Court of Appeal (the third court hearing the case) illustrates both the un fairness and uncertainty of the law as laid down by the judges. A short act in 1891 allowed certain leaseholders for long terms to have fair rents fixed under the law of 1881, which said that no rent was to be made payable by tenants in respect of their own improvements. The court of first instance held that the tenant of a small farm who had made valuable buildings and improvements on it, should pay rent only for the land as it was before the improvements were made. This decision was immediately reversed by the Land Commission, whose chairman is a judge of the High Court, receiving a salary of \$17,500. The rent of the farm was raised from £11 to £18, and the principle was laid down that in these cases the tenant was to pay as the "fair rent" the full value of the premises, including all that he had spent himself. Thus the tenant had to pay twice over for any expenditure he made on his farm-first, in the original outlay, then in interest on this outlay to his landlord. The more he spent, the higher his rent would be.

Many other cases, similar in principle but involving larger values, were decided by the Land Commission in the same way: but no appeal was taken to the highest court, partly because of the great expense of such appeals. partly because it was supposed that the judge of the Land Commission knew, or ought to know, what the law was. The case first mentioned, however, reached the High Court of Appeal after two years, and the four judges who heard the case decided unanimously that the Land Commission judge was wrong, and that his decision would reduce the act of Parliament to rank absurdity. In a well known English case Lord Justice Selwyn once said, "It is not the duty of a court of law to be astute to find out ways in which the object of an act of the Legislature may be defeated," yet this is just what the Irish land courts have been doing for fifteen years. This last decision of the High Court is attributed with much probability to the influence of public opinion, not to any purer interpretation of the law than had prevailed before.

Another illustration of the vacillating decisions of this court, or of the uncertainty of the law, is the case of what are called "townparks," which are excluded from the fair rent provisions of the Land Law. These are lands not used for actual farming, which, to come within the statutory exclusion, must be situated "near a town or city." The court has been gradually extending the meaning of the term "town or city" from country villages of one thousand inhabitants until last year it laid down as the law that "any collection of houses" was a city or town. The lower courts readily took this to mean that the smallest ru ral hainlet, half-a dozen houses at a crossroads, was a city, and that all land in the immediate vicinity of such places, though used as ordinary farming land, should be excluded from the Land Law. The present bill proposes to fix two thousand inhabitants as the rule for deciding what is a "town." Its object is to confirm the principles of the Land Law Act passed in 1881, which the decisions of the judges have reduced almost to a nullity, and to set at rest some uncertainties that were found in the entire patchwork code of the land laws.

Like every other proposal for reform, the bill is denounced by what the chief secretary termed an "irreconcilable junta" of landlords as confiscation, spoliation, and robbery. Though the principle of the bill has been admitted by its second reading without a division, opposition to all and every detail is threatened in committee. It seems, however, almost certain that the bill will pass successfully through the House of Commons, for nine-tenths of the Irish members are in favor of it, and a good many English Unionist members are likely to support them, recognizing both the justice of the proposals and the urgency of some reform. It is the rule with the House of Lords either to reject Irish bills brought in by the Liberal Government, or else by amendments to draw their fang teeth and defeat their objects. But on this occasion to reject or mangle the Land bill will be to drive the Conservative farmers into the home-rule camp, and justify the Nationalists in saying that no Irish reforms can be obtained from Parliament at Westminster, however urgent their need may be, and although they may be approved and demanded by nine-tenths of the Irish people. The Lords will therefore be in a dilemma: they must accept the Land bill, or give new life to and furnish fresh arguments for the home rule movement.

The bill is based on a principle the justice of which cannot be gainsaid, viz., that it is right as between individuals, and for the common good, that people should enjoy the fruits of their own expenditure, and that the small landowning class should not retain the right to appropriate to themselves all the value added to their estates by their tenants' outlay on works of permanent benefit and utility. The English mind has been at last convinced that what the landlord does in England in the way of equipping farms with buildings and all other works required for cultivation, the tenant does in Ireland, and that therefore the circumstances and incidents of farm tenure in the two countries are wholly dissimilar. The battle over the bill will be chiefly confined to the phraseology of the clauses which are meant to secure the tenant the benefit of his own outlay. Experience has

shown that it is not so easy as it would seem to express in words that cannot and will not be misconstrued the plain intention, the admitted principle, that an Irish tenant is not to be mulcted in rent to his landlord for works and expenditure to which the landlord has never contributed a single farthing.

The partial famine and distress now existing in the west of Ireland forces the land question specially on the attention of the English Government. Every day that Parliament sits, the Chief Secretary for Ireland is bombarded with questions as to what he is doing for the distressed population in this or that western parish. Forty years ago John Bright said: Large votes are annually required to keep the people quiet and large votes are annually required to keep the people alive." It is very much the same case still, except that the people are fewer and the votes are proportionally smaller. Grants and loans of Irish money must be made nearly every year to keep the people alive and quiet, but the causes of pauperism and distress are not removed. If the population was superabundant when Bright spoke, it cannot be so now, when it is reduced by onehalf. Where obvious causes of poverty and misery exist, it is absurd to attribute these evils to improbable and remote causes. High rents and absentee landlords who spend nothing on their estates are sufficient to account for most of the western poverty.

Not ten vears ago the Times's correspondent. referring to absenteeism as a cause of poverty. vrote, "The western counties are the strongholds of absenteeism. In Mayo, for example, nine owners hold upwards of 20,000 acres each, and among them draw annually £100,000 from this poor western county." This would be quite one-third of the rental of the entire county of Mayo. The only expenditure on such estates is for agents, bailiffs, and poorrates. The proprietors carry off one-third or one-quarter of the gross produce of the land, and no return comes back to the district except bundles of rent receipts. No services of any kind are rendered by the proprietors in return for the revenues they draw from their estates. Notwithstanding all the patching and tinkering of the land laws during the past forty years, it may still be said, in the words of Bright, that "a code of laws exists under which it is impossible for the land and the people to be brought together, and for industry to live in independence and comfort, instead of crawling to this House, as it does almost annually, to ask alms of the hardworking people of England."

Bright overlooked the fact that the alms and loans granted by the British Parliament come from funds supplied by Ireland to the imperial revenue. After the Union, overtaxation of Ireland led in sixteen years to her complete bankruptcy, and since the exchequers of the two countries were amalgamated, it is now admitted that Ireland's contribution to the imperial revenue has been at least twice as much as she should in justice have paid if she had been taxed with England in proportion to the means of the two countries.

AN IRISHMAN.

PASQUIER'S MEMOIRS.-XI.

Paris, April 12, 1895.

The sixth volume of the memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier has made its appearance. It covers the period extending from 1824 to 1830. I have been informed that it is the last to appear for the present. The Duke d'Audiffret-

Pasquier, who is the editor of the Memoirs, will give no publicity at this time to that part of them which relates to the reign of Louis Philippe, the Revolution of 1848, and the following years. This new volume of the 'History of My Time' derives its chief interest from the events which prepared the Revolution of 1830, and this Revolution itself. It opens with the death of Louis XVIII. The reign of this King had, on the whole, been a happy one; the prudent and shrewd old monarch had manœuvred artfully between the parties; he had preserved his dignity and the dignity of France before Europe. Pasquier gives curious details about the end of Louis XVIII.:

"He was not devout; in his youth he had, it was said, rather Voltairian views, though he kept up appearances. His political situation during the emigration forced him to manifest much regard for the priests, of whom so large a number had remained faithful to his cause.

. . . He fulfilled all his religious duties; he went to church whenever his health allowed him to do so. . . In his latter years the nature of his relation with Madam du Cayla was not such as to encourage in him very serious religious sentiments. When his last moment approached, he expressed no desire to receive any religious help; nobody knew how to approach him on the subject. It would have been a great presumption on the part of the Duchess d'Angoulèwe to do so. It was thought that Madam du Cayla alone, thanks to the influence she had acquired over him, could touch so delicate a chord. She accepted the mission and succeeded. The King saw a priest on the morning of September 13; he received the Communion and the last sacrament. He was fully conscious. The great almoner did not perform the ceremony well; the King corrected him with a strong and almost angry voice, telling him what he bad to do. This service rendered by Madam du Cayla explains the position which she maintained at court, and how the Duchess d'Angoulème not only tolerated her, but even showed her a certain kindness."

It must be understood that Madam du Cayla (so, at least, I have always heard) was not the mistress of the old and invalid King; she was merely a favorite, a persona gratissi ma, with whom he liked to talk very freely, and who charmed him by her grace, her esprit, and her manners. The relation was very innocent; it nevertheless created much jealousy and envy in the court circle.

Louis XVIII. died on September 16, 1824; his successor was very different from him in every respect-narrow-minded, the very type of those émigrés of whom it was said that they had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Louis XVIII, infirm, unable to appear on horseback, dragging himself with difficulty from one room to another, was nevertheless very imposing. He had much esprit and a wonderful memory. Strangely erough, coming after the most active ruler and captain who ever existed, Louis XVIII, was adopted and accepted by all the marshals and generals: he could speak to them in flattering terms of their campaigns and their services. He had been a liberal from the first days of the Revolution; he understood the necessities of his time, and he was a sincere partisan of parliamentary government. He had all the more merit because he found no support or echo in his own family. His brother, the new King, was good-natured, generous, but very unintelligent, politically speaking. He was born a century too late, and entirely misunderstood the aspirations and the necessities of France, entirely transformed by new legislation and new administrative methods. He had become the tool of what was then called the "Congregation," of the militant church party, headed by the Jesuits, and believed sincerely that his mission consisted in undoing all the work of the Revolution, and in bringing the French monarchy back to the times when Bossuet wrote 'La Politique tirée de l'Écriture Sainte.'

The short history of the reign of Charles X. was a perpetual conflict with public opinion and with the Chamber. He finally confided the premiership of his Cabinet to M. de Polignac, who prepared the famous Ordonnances which suppressed the liberty of the press, dissolved the Chamber, and restricted the suffrage. The secret was well guarded: it is the belief of M. Pasquier that nobody had any knowledge of the impending coup d'état ex cept a financier named Ouvrard and a fanatical pamphleteer named Rubichon. This man could have had a revelation only from the Jesuits. Two months before the publication of the Ordonnances some Jesuits advised Von Werther, the Prussian Minister in Paris, that something was preparing. "Von Werther told me so," says Pasquier, "a month after the Revolution of July." Rubichon owed some money to M. Greffulhe; "he thought he would acquit himself by giving him good advice. On Thursday, the 21st, he said to him: 'Believe me, the Government is going to strike a great blow next week; look out for yourself accordingly." Rothschild, who had much to do with the Treasury, knew nothing and was in complete security, as were all the members of the diplomatic corps.

The Ordonnances were signed by Charles X on Sunday, after mass, at Saint-Cloud. They appeared the next day in the Moniteur; in Paris there was general stupefaction. The King started early for Rambouillet, and, after a day's hunting, returned to Saint-Cloud only in the evening. Paris was early in a great fermentation, and the command of all the troops in Paris was given to Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa. The blindness of the King and of the Cabinet was such that no military precautions of any sort had been taken. and no forces were marching on the capital. Polignac felt sure that there would be no serious trouble. Here is the account of an evewitness of the evening of July 28 in the drawing-room at Saint-Cloud, which Pasquier relates in extenso :

"Arrived at Saint-Cloud between nine and eleven, it is impossible to describe my feelings in the court of the château. It was lighted as usual; not a guard more or less; the windows of the drawing-room open; a few persons coming on the balcony, listening, and retiring without any hurry in their walk, like people who come to breathe the cool of the evening after a burning day. The report of guns, however, was incessantly heard in the direction of Paris. What do I say? They became more distinct, and at times there was mixed up with them the lugubrious sound of the toesin. I stopped a moment under the peristyle of the palace. Valets were sprawling on the benches, talking carelessly of the fighting in Paris. 'They are firing again! Hark! hear the bells.' They people are about to march on Paris. All this said with that tone of affected indifference which is learned with such perfection only in the atmosphere that envelops a court. From the anteroom I entered the salon deservice, where I found an officer of the guard who told me all he knew of Paris, and he was well informed. And the King, said I; 'what is he doing?' 'He is playing whist.' 'And the Pauphin?' He is at his game of chess.' What! not an order given round this palace, not a precaution?' Nothing, absolutely nothing.' I then decided to enter the drawing-room. I advanced slowly near the King, and I clearly perceived in his eve that any new comer not in his intimate confidence annoyed him sensibly; not a word is sued from his lips, except on the subject of the game. The Dauphin seemed quite as attached to his game of chess. I felt the need of air, and I approached a window with one of the King's attendants. We listened together:

a window still shut was from time to time shaken by the noise of the distant firing. This noise seemed to astonish nobody; not a question, not a mark of uneasiness. I approached the Dauphin; he gave me a nod of the head without saying a word. After a few moments I could not bear it any longer and left the room. When once I had joined, in another room, a few devoted and despairing friends, I recognized that the horrible truth was very clear to them, that none of them doubted that a terrible catastrophe was near. The news arrived secretly from moment to moment, always more alarming, but did not go further than the door of the royal drawing room. The Duke of Duras entered, went out, moved uneasily near us, but when he approached the whist-table he was again silent."

As Pasquier says, such a picture, which he had from a person worthy of all confidence cannot be invented. The commander of the military school of Saint-Cyr was at the moment the Count de Broglie. He came the next day to receive the King's orders and offer the service of the military pupils. He was very uneasy, and showed his uneasiness; the King finally said to him: " Well, my dear Count, I see that I must tell you all. Well, Polignac again had apparitions last night which promised him assistance, told him to persevere, and assured him a full victory." The Count. de Broglie was so stupefied that he could not find a word to say. He met somebody after this interview, to whom he merely remarked, 'All is lost." Polignae and his royal master had fallen into the most extra rdinary religious mysticism; Polignac had real halluci nations and the King believed in their reality.

Pasquier gives with minute details an account of a mission of the Duke de Morte part, who was charged at the last moment with making an arrangement with the leaders of the resistance to the Ordonnances, and with forming a new Cabinet. It was already too late; Paris was covered with barricades, a revolutionary government had taken posse sion of the Hôtel de Ville; Lafayette, Laffitte, and their friends were the masters of the situation. Unfettered in his movements, M. Laflitte was following out his designs. He had always had under his patronage a certain number of papers; he sent to them his instructions. The writers of the National, MM. Thiers and Migne, had been, from the foundation of the paper, favorable to the Duke d'Orleans. They gave the signal, which was answered by the writers of the Constitutionnel, the Journal du Commerce, and the Courrier. The Deputies had been summoned to the Chamber. "They arrived in the room where the sittings took place; the talk at first was embarrassed; some speke of M. de Mortemart, of proposals of which he was the bearer; others put forward the names of the Duke d'Orléans, of the Dauphip, even the name of Henri V, with a Regency, which might procure some advantages for the establishment of the constitutional Government. On the whole, the great majority was for the family of Charles X. Even those who were most oppo-ed to him have since acknowledged it." Lafflitte assumed the presidency of the Deputies, of whom there were not more than sixty. The country, he said, needed guidance. He was afraid of the proclamation of the Republic by the men who had fought at the barricades. He proposed that the Duke d'Orléans should be appointed Lieutenant General of the kingdom, and that the tricolor flag should replace the white flag. A deputation was sent to the Duke d'Orleans with this important resolution. "I was passing." says Pasquier, "the corner of the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue Saint-Florentin M. de Talleyrand, who was behind the curtain at the entresol, knocked on the window and made me a sign to come up. I found him in a great state of excitement. He spoke at once of the Duke d'Orléans. 'They are going,' said he, 'to use him, and put him forward. He can play a fine and great rôle; but will he understand the situation? Will he know that above all he must negotiate?' "He evidently wished to be the negotiator; he would not hear of the Duke d'Orléans accepting the title of Lieutenant-General—Commander of Paris was enough; he had written in this sense a letter to Mme. Adelaide, the King's sister, which he showed to Pasquier and sent to Neuilly.

Charles X. remained inert at Saint-Cloud. When this untenable position was threatened, he retired to Rambouillet. Versailles was already in insurrection, as well as Saint-Germain. The Duke d'Orléans received at the Palais Royal the committee of the Deputies, who offered him the dignity and power of lieutenant-general. He did not think at that moment of a higher title. He had not conspired against the Restoration, though he had disapproved its policy. In revolutionary times minutes become hours and hours become days. Louis-Philippe had soon to choose between the proclamation of a republic, which certainly would have sent him as well as his family into exile, and the acceptance not of a mere general lieutenancy, but of the crown. He was to be a king or to follow Charles X, into exile. It is not difficult to imagine through what mental struggles he had to pass during those eventful days which followed the departure of Charles X. from Saint-Cloud to Rambouillet. Once he had made his choice, he did not hesitate. He went in person to the Hôtel de Ville, through the barricades, accompanied by Laffitte, Benjamin Constant, and a few Deputies. He found Lafavette on the steps, who embraced him. He was not yet King, but a barrier had now been thrown between him and Charles X. which nothing could remove. Charles X. had ceased to reign, and Lafayette had proclaimed that Louis Philippe was "the best of republics." Pasquier's chapters on all these events, and on the beginnings of the new monarchy, possess a thrilling interest.

Correspondence.

THE DECADENCE OF THE GRAND ARMY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

St. L.

SIR: I do not wish to traverse so much the truth as the justice of what is said in the Nation of April 25 about the Grand Army. So far back as 1867 it was neither unnatural nor uncommendable that men who had then but lately passed out of the military life, should wish to found some sort of a civic organization by means of which they could still hold together and live again, in a kind of fashion, their interesting past. At that time, too, the motto chosen, "Fraternity, Charity, and Loyalty," had, in each of its members, a real meaning. And if your space permitted, I think I could demonstrate that the qualification for membership was not too broadly based in making honorable service in the Union army or navy, in any capacity or for any length of time, the test of eligibility, and leaving it to the official record, as contained in the War or Navy Department, to decide, in any case, whether the requirement of honorable service had been met.

My experience with the Grand Army dates

back to 1870, by which time the politicians had fixed their attention upon the organization, and had begun to see what could be made out of it in the way of party and personal advantage to themselves. This exploitation of the Grand Army for purposes foreign to it brought it to the verge of a dissolution from which it was saved by the exertions of men who loved the organization for its own and its true self.

As to the pension abuses, such as they may be, they began with the Arrears act which President Haves weakly signed against the strong opposition of Senator Sherman, then the most prominent member of his Cabinet. This the President did, not for the Grand Army or because of the Grand Army, but because the Democratic and Republican parties were running a neck-and-neck race for the "soldier vote" a very small part of that vote being enrolled in the Grand Army. It was the Arrears act that opened the flood-gates, and I have some particular reasons for believing that those who passed the act, and those who were connected in every degree with its approval, had a tolerably fair appreciation of the consequences; but when ever was an enduring public interest allowed to stand in the way of a present political advantage, when politicians saw the advantage, and saw also that, if a recoil came, they could evade the responsibilities for their party and themselves? I submit that if you will bring your censure of the pension laws and administration, of the last fifteen years or so, to the test of reason, you will lay the blame not on the Grand Army, but on that bad working of our political system that throws the public offices and the powers of Government into the least worthy and capable hands, and leaves the better people to indifference or despair, except when they rise in revolt against some abuse that has grown too scandalous or oppressive to be borne. If the pension allowances ever reach the unbearable stage, they, too, will be overthrown in the usual manner, the just and unjust suffering alike.

Meanwhile, the readers of the Nation might like to hear from the lips of an honest and efficient official of the Pension Bureau how the system works. He said to me a few days ago: "Under Gen. Raum a feeling pervaded the office that our business was to allow pensions in every case where an excuse could be made for allowance, while under Judge Lochren the feeling is that pensions must be disallowed if possible; so that we are now rejecting meritorious cases where formerly we allowed those without merit."

I am one of the Grand Army men who believe that the pension roll and the list of pension applications could and should be overhauled, so as to remove the unworthy and let in the worthy. But to ask the Grand Army of the Republic to lift itself higher than other people or other organizations is asking too much of human nature. The "old soidier" has had it dinged into him for nearly twenty years past that his fair "salvage" for rescuing the country from shipwreck is vastly more than his wildest dreams of pensions and places. and if you want him to "let up on his unfortunate country," you must have a propaganda to enlighten him, as you are now preparing to enlighten those affected with the silver craze. And if you will stop to consider that those who darken counsel are our national governors, may you not conclude that a reform Congress, if it could be effected, would save the people so much that \$160,000,000 for pensions would not be worth talking about with the same breath?

The Grand Army is composed of elderly

men. If they have been overpastured by your politicians, make your politicians dispasture them, and don't seeld or rail at them for acting just as nine-tenths of the readers of the Nation would act in their place. If they have fallen below the average morality or patriotism of the nation, their condition is more likely to be aggravated than amended by such hot and sweeping words as those of Col. Waring, who, I hope, will stay in office long enough to show what municipal government is on the anti-Tammany plan. C. F. B.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1895.

MANUAL TRAINING VERSUS MILI-TARY DRILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An editorial in the Nation of April 11 on the subject of compulsory military drill in the public schools strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of all those who feel, with you, that the precious opportunity offered to those schools should indeed be used more effectively for "instruction in good manners, in the arts and love of peace, and in ambition to make the country decent and habitable instead of feared." With this thought in mind, some of us are taking comfort and hope in an awakened and critical interest in the possibilities of manual training as a moral and civilizing influence in these schools.

Dr. Hanford Henderson, however (principal of the Northeast Manual Training School of Philadelphia), in two timely articles in the Popular Science Monthly (November, 1894, and April, 1895), calls attention to the need of more educational methods in manual training, which, he says, is to-day "entering a new phase, and enlarging into a kingdom" "through the recognition of its psychological import." Dr. Henderson, who is a profound student of his subject, states his belief that manual training, with adequate means, should lead "inexorably to health, vitality, integrity, goodness, and happiness," and he regards it as "the herald of a coming education." Dr. Henderson, however, recognizes the fact that the possibilities of this hopeful factor in education 'are merely foreshadowed in our present clumsy exercises.'

Some of your readers will perhaps be interested to know that an effort is being made to improve upon the methods of the past, in Boston, where a course of manual training (with tools) is being worked out, whose exercises are based upon a "recognition of their psychological" as well as their physiological and ethical import. An opportunity for the study of these methods, as well as of the general problem of manual training, is offered in free training classes for teachers, now being carried on in Boston by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw. Those interested in the practical value of this work would do well to visit the Massachusetts State reformatory at Concord, whose officers testify that the moral influence of this training of boys has never been equalled by any methods known to them. One officer of the institution has even expressed to the writer his desire to place his own sons in the convict classes, unless the same opportunity were soon to be offered to them in the public schools of the town.-I am sir, truly yours,

MILTON, MASS., April 18, 1895.

A. W. FISKE.

MUNICIPAL REFORM METHODS IN CHICAGO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Those of your readers who are study-

ing the methods pursued by organizations working for municipal reform may be interested in the manner in which the ward councils of the Civic Federation of Chicago made the fight for better politics before our recent city election.

For purpose of illustration, the thirteenth ward is taken. Here as elsewhere the nominating conventions of the leading parties were held so late that, after it became apparent that the Federation could support neither the Republican nor the Democratic candidate for alderman, there was no time to put an Independent in the field, the time limited by law for the filing of the necessary petition having expired, and the nominee of the People's party was consequently endorsed. An active campaign of a week was waged, four public meetings were held, and twenty thousand circulars were distributed. The result showed that, while the overwhelming straight Republican vote carried everything before it, some fifteen hundred voters were, in all probability, led by the work of the Federation to support Mr. Wilson, giving him in all twenty-five hundred votes-a respectable showing, though still far below the number required to elect. The principal circular issued by the Federation is unique in Chicago ward politics. In part it is as follows.-Respectfully,

LEE F. ENGLISH.

CHICAGO, April 24, 1895.

"The policy of the Civic Federation in ward politics is briefly set forth in the following, quoted from a circular letter addressed by the Central Council to

"'When the candidates of both parties are good men, use no official influence to secure the election of either. If one candidate is good and the other bad, endorse the good one irrespective of party Where both candidates are so objectionable that a decent man cannot vote for either without feeling himself thereby disgraced, you should seek by every right means to unite public sentiment and secure the nomination of a right-minded, honorable man.

"John W. Utesch, Republican, candidate for reelection [as alderman], has, from the date of his entry into the City Council down to February 25, 1895, consistently voted for every questionable and objectionable ordinance which has been adopted, as may be seen in part by reference to the published proceedings of the Council of the following dates.

"Previous to his election two years ago Mr. Utesch was in the business of grocer, which he has since given up, and he is now understood to be a professional politician.

"We find that the Democratic candidate, Christopher Peterson, is a saloon-keeper at 350 Dearborn Street and 316 State Street, and a persistent officeseeker. We regard Mr. Peterson in some respects as more unfit for the position of alderman than Mr. Utesch, if that be possible

'Hiram A. Wilson, the People's candidate for alderman, is a native of New York State, has been a resident of Illinois twenty-five years, and of Chicago sixteen years, working at his trade as carpenter. He has never held a political office, nor been a candidate, and was selected by his party for this office for his qualifications of sobriety, industry, and in-

"The Thirtieth Ward Council of the Civic Federation, therefore, in view of the situation outlined above, have endorsed the candidacy of Hiram A Wilson, and urgently recommend that citizens who have the good of the community at heart drop for the time their party affiliations, and give their support, not to any party, but to the man who will be represent their interests in the Common Council

"We also advise all voters, of whatever party or condition, to vote for the Civil-Service Reform Law. and thus secure permanency of employment and good and economical service in the city departments.

rect expenditure of money among the workingmen and a smaller amount diverted to the pockets of the politicians.

A FIFTY-CENT GOLD DOLLAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In contemplating the efforts of the silver inflationists to provide a means of escape for the poor debtor from his obligations, it seems to me their sympathy is not broad enough. Why should they not go farther and also right the wrongs of the borrowers whose debts cannot be paid in "free silver"-those victims of grasping capital who, in order to obtain new loans or renewals of old ones, were compelled to promise repayment in gold dollars? If a fifty-cent silver dollar is to be given to one class, why not equally favor other unfortunates by supplying for their use a halfweight gold dollar? If it is right to make fifty cents worth of silver legal tender for a dollar, there is equal justice in calling fifty cents worth of gold a "dollar." This is no attempt at malicious reductio ad absurdum, but a sober surgestion to the "bimetallists" of a very proper method of bringing about a parity of the two money metals under free coinage. Such a policy might be a bitter pill for the silvertheory, gold practice Senators; but as they are entirely unselfish in the matter of aiding the poor man to pay his debts, they would not refuse their debtors a cheap dollar while offering a similar blessing to the debtors of those who had put their trust in the justice and honor of their country by stipulating for repayment merely in lawful money.

St. Louis, Mo., April 23, 1895.

SPAIN AND CUBA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: In reading the article on "Spain and Cuba" in your issue of the 25th inst., it was a disappointment to find that you made no mention of the very remarkable concession granted by Spain to Cuba, which was made a long time ago and is still continued. With a climate and soil well suited to raising tobacco, not one pound is allowed to be grown in Spain even for private use. You can confirm this statement by turning to O'Shea's 'Guide to Spain and Portugal,' where, under the head of "General Information." page ci, you will read the following

"Tobacco is a monopoly of the State, there being about half-a-dozen lauge factories—in some of the principal towns—Sevilla, Valencia, Santander, etc. The cultivation of the plant is forbidden in Spain—where it would succeed admirably—for the sake of benefiting the Habanas: The consumption of tobacco, in its various forms, amounts to some twenty militars of rounds are naming. lions of pounds per annum.

Yours respectfully, A. FLEMING. 150 ALLEGHENY AVENUE, ALLEGHENY, PA., April 26, 1895.

[The tariff relations of Spain and Cuba, of which the tobacco monopoly forms a part, are too complicated to be discussed here. - ED. NATION.]

DEAN FARRAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The papers have copied one from another the statement that Rev. Archibald Farrar. D.D., Canon of Westminster, has been appointed Dean of Canterbury. It is to be The operation of this law will result in a larger dispresumed this beautiful mistake proceeded the nature of the alterations and insertions.

from a careless study of Whitaker's Almanack, where among the Canons of Westminster appears Archd. Farrar-i. e., Archdeacon Frederick W. Farrar-a man, one would think, sufficiently well known to Americans.

WILLIAM EVERETT.

QUINCY, MASS., April 24, 1895.

Notes.

D. APPLETON & Co. publish immediately a Hand-book of Birds of Eastern and North America,' by Frank M. Chapman of the American Museum of Natural History, with more than 200 illustrations; an equally extensively illustrated work, 'Familiar Flowers of Field and Garden,' by F. Schuyler Matthews; and General Sheridan,' by Gen. Henry E. Davies. G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the Moderate Man of the Sixteenth Century,' by Ruth Putnam; 'Wild Flowers of the Northeastern States,' delineated from life and popularly described by Margaret C. Whiting and Ellen Miller; 'Water Tramps, or the Cruise of the Scabird,' by George Herbert Bartlett, and

Natural Taxation, by Thomas G. Shearman. A volume of 'Selected Letters of Pliny the Younger, by Prof. Elmer T. Merrill of Wesleyan University, and 'The Essentials of New Testament Greek, by Prof. J. H. Huddleston of Northwestern University, are in the press of Macmillan & Co.

Many regrets must have been felt we have expressed our own that the plan of the 'New English Dictionary on Historical Principles' was not consistent with the citation of poetical "familiar quotations" to the fullest extent. This would be quite possible in a "Dictionary of Literary English," such as has been lately proposed in England, and seconded by that sound philologist, the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, who would not include words obsolete before 1470, nor any not found in literature "in Charles Lamb's sense of the word." The work, he says, need not be bulky.

The Selden Society, well known to all interested in early legal history, announce the publication of their sixth volume, 'Selections from the Records of the High Court of Admiralty, 1390-1404 and 1527-1545,' edited by Reginald G. Marsden, author of the treatise upon Perpetuities. The business of the High Court of Admiralty was very considerable during the period covered by this volume, and played an important part in the development of commercial law. The address of the American secretary is Richard W. Hale, 10 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

Macmillan & Co. send us Mr. Aitken's charming reprint of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell' in the Defoe collection (London: J. M. Dent & Co.), and their own of Michael Scott's lively West Indian classic, 'Tom Cringle's Log,' From Messrs. Putnam we have still another presentation of Irving's 'Alhambra' in fine, open typography, fit either for use as the "student's edition" it is denominated, or to be read by children and old eyes for simple pleasure. Mr. Arthur Marvin has supplied notes grouped at the end of the book, and an introduction. A New England story of Fugitive Slave Law days, Mr. J. T. Trowbridge's 'Neighbor Jackwood,' which has had a continuous life of nearly forty years, has been revised by the author, and furnished with an autobiographical chapter relating the genesis of the work and indicating Though now an historical novel, its missionary usefulness has no visible term in view of the persistency of color prejudice (Lee & Shepard). We can but mention a new translation of 'Paul and Virginia,' by Melville B. Anderson (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.), and one of Daudet's 'Fromont Junior and Risler Senior,' by Edward Vizetelly (Philadelphia: Lippincott); strange companions on one shelf.

The third of Mrs. Constance Garnett's translations of the novels of Turgeneff is 'On the Eve' (Macmillan). Its defects are those which we pointed out in the case of the first, 'Rudin.' In the effort to match idioms, style is lost sight of, and the result is too frequently a mixture of colloquial and literary expression, such as a foreigner to English might lapse into. Think of the heroine "tidying" her hair, for example. Action and plot count for so little, relatively, in Turgeneff's masterpieces, and are so easily forgotten, that if the aroma and poetry are missed by the translator, almost all is lost.

Whatever bears the name of Adolf Harnack is to be regarded with respect, yet we scarce see the object in translating his lecture on 'Monasticism: its Ideals and History' (Christian Literature Co.). The subject is much too vast to be adequately treated in the compass of less than a hundred small pages, and the treatment unfortunately is verbose as well as insufficient. The reader is constantly in the hope of being on the verge of something con crete and definite, but this hope as constantly vanishes in a wilderness of words representing the inner consciousness of the lecturer rather than the external facts of his theme. He misses entirely the one central idea of monasticism, that in its essence it is irredeemably selfish; its object is to secure the salvation of the individual regardless of his duties to his fellows, and of the second great commandment to love thy neighbor as thyself. It is only in so far as it has proved false to this idea that it has been of service either to the Church or to mankind. It is remarkable that so well-informed a writer as Harnack should have fallen into the error of describing Loyola as the first who realized the possibilities of monasticism ia strengthening and extending the authority of the Church. Dominic realized this three hundred years earlier and performed the same service as did Loyola. The theory of both was the same; the differences were in details, caused chiefly by the change in the environment and by the fact that Dominic had a scholastic and Loyola a military training.

Arthur Ogle, writer of the Stanhope Essay at Oxford for 1893, describes, in what he calls a "Study in Criticism," the opinions and career of 'The Marquis d'Argenson' (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons). His special aim is to show that a careful examination of D'Argenson's Journal would serve to correct the harsh judgments of that states. man's management of French foreign affairs from 1744 to 1747 pronounced by the Duke de Broglie and M. Zevort, the only historians who have recently devoted much attention to this phase of the history of France. Mr. Ogle does not seem to have made out his case. Even his own eulogistic description of D'Argenson leaves the reader with the impression that D'Argenson's policy was more ambitious than wise. Had Mr. Ogle devoted a few lines here and there to contemporary history, his hero's career would have gained in meaning and the essay in clearness. The style, too, is uneven, at times becoming inflated and sensational, as when, speaking of Frederick the Great's return to Berlin before the Saxon campaign of 1745, the author writes: "His sword had clicked

again in the scabbard, his hand had fallen nerveless from the hilt, when suddenly a stray word let fall at a dinner table by Count Brühl was conveyed carefully to Berlin; tensely the fingers closed on the hilt, the sword leapt forth again bare and terrible, and at the end of a three weeks' campaign, which we cannot even read of now without dancing eyes and tingling blood, the lion of Brandenburg entered Dresden."

Laymen and archæological students alike will welcome the translation of Helbig's Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome' (Leipzig: Baedeker), of which the first volume has just appeared. It is based upon the German edition of 1891, but this has undergone a thorough revision by the author, with whom the translator, Mr. J. F. Muirhead (well known here as the editor of Baedeker's 'United States') has done his work in close connection. The present volume treats of the Vatican, Capitoline and Lateran Museums with the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The name of Helbig is to scholars a sufficient guarantee of the worth of this book. Others may be assured that in using it, as in using the chapters on art in Baedeker's 'Greece and Rome,' they are following the words of a master.

Prof. S. B. Platner's 'Bibliography of the Younger Pliny' is a work that will be of great service to students and lovers of that delight ful letter-writer. It includes lists of over 250 editions, as many titles of works and articles on Pliny, and nearly a hundred translations of him into various languages. Such biblio graphies are most welcome both to collectors and to teachers in charge of courses of re search or "seminaries" in our colleges, and it is to be hoped that their number will increase. The present pamphlet is a reprint from the Western Reserve University Bulletin for April, 1895.

Mr. W. E. Hoyle, compiler of the admirably arranged and neatly printed classified and indexed catalogue of books and pamphlets in the Library of Manchester Museum, England, deprecates criticism on the ground that he is not a professional librarian. But really the only criticism we should make of his work is in the hyper-professionalism of the Dewey-Cutter book-marks, which are stated in the preface to have made their way into three other English institutions. We observe, by the bye, that Signor Chilovi, director of the National Central Library at Florence, praises, in his Bollettino for March 31, the practice of the Smithsonian Institution in accompanying each of its publications with a leaf bearing the thrice-printed title of the work for ready insertion in the subject-and author catalogue and in the list of accessions.

The most notable thing in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April is the inserted slip announcing that this will be the last year of Mr. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England," "unless considerably more money shall be received before July." Subscriptions to any amount may be sent to Mr. John Ward Dean, No. 18 Somerset Street, Boston. This announcement may well strike a chill in those who have turned eagerly and first of all to these Gleanings in each quarterly issue of the Register, and who remember both the brilliant and the less showy but not less sure discoveries of Mr. Waters by which the New World blood has been connected with the Old. We sincerely hope that the bestequipped explorer who ever yet attempted this bridging of the Atlantic will be sustained a while longer. His wills this month relate to

Burgess, Phippen, Pitt, Chaplin, Gould, and many other families. An English contributor, Mr. Phillimore, continues his contributions to a knowledge of the Garfields of England, whose habitat was near Rugby in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. They were mostly small yeomen and husbandmen, but some gained wealth as merchants in London. Connection with our American Garfields is not yet established.

M. René Doumic, in the Revue Bleue and in the course of an article on Gabriele d'Annunzio (of whom it has more than once been question in these columns), says that the Italian author has become as much the mode in Paris as was Tolstoi a few years ago. Count Melchior de Vogüé, who introduced the Russian novelists to the French public, has performed the same office for their Italian brother. The Revue de Paris publishes a translation of an early novel of D'Annunzio's. 'L'Innocente' appears in the Temps under the title of 'L'Intrus,' while 'II Trionfo della Morte' appears, or is about to appear, in French dress in the Revue des Deux Mondes.

-A correspondent writes:

"In a note concerning Seiler's book showing by the etymology of borrowed words the things which Germans have borrowed from abroad, you remark that 'we call a fowl which is a native of the western hemispiere a turkey, while the French seek its origin in India (Dinde), and the Germans in Calcutta (Kalkutischer Hahn)." These names have been a puzzle to all lexicographers and have not been clearly accounted for by any, while they seem to imply an ignorance which may not have existed. You take it for granted that the givers of them did not know which may not have existed. You take it for granted that the givers of them did not know the fowl to be a native of the western hemisphere. The fact is, that when the names were given America was held to be a section of Asia, while India or Turkey still stood in the minds of the namers for all Asia more fully than we of the United States now stand for Americans. of the United States now stand for Americans. The turkey came to Europe from a part of America which still derives its name from India, and the French called that for a finde because they received it from the West Indies (Indies Occidentales), or from America (see Littré, s. v. Dinde: 'etym. de et Inde [Amérique; l'Amérique fut d'abord nommé Inde]'). No thought of our India. As for Germans, in seeking a name for the stranger who was to push their goose from her stool, they to push their goose from her stool, they could not look to Calcutta, which had no existence till long afterward. Their name came from Calcut, a thousand miles away. Before Columbus had sighted the American main, Da Gama had landed in that Acietic city. It was natural to call the turn American man, ba dama had randed in that Asiatic city. It was natural to call the turkey by the name of the port to which that fowl would be brought from the American province for export. Viewing Turkey and Tartary as essentially one, and also indissoluble from America, it was to be expected that the English would take a name for the new fowl from the predominant state of Asia and the English would take a name for the new fowl from the predominant state of Asia and not from an outlying corner of it. According to Winsor (Columbus, p. 616), it took a full century for the entanglement of the coasts of Asia and America which Columbus had imagined, to be practically eradicated from maps. English, French, and Germans knew that turkeys were discovered in Mexico by Cortez in 1518, but Mexico was in trans-Gangetic India. The English may have believed that, as Fuller states ('Worthies' i., p. 431), bluff Hal had eaten turkey in 1519. They may have seen it earlier as a rarity brought by Cabot from Newfoundland. But that island belonged to the Grand Cham of Asia. They must have named it after the Asiatic Power just then striding to universal empire rather than after its unknown Mexican or northern coasts. It would seem, then, that the French did not seek a name in our India, nor the English in our Turkey, least of all did the German in the search of all did the German in the contraction of the engine in the contraction of the engine in the contraction of the English in our Turkey, least of all did the German in the contraction of the engine in the contraction of the engine in did not seek a name in our India, nor the English in our Turkey; least of all did the Germans in Calcutta. While the hemisphere in mans in Calcutta. While the hemisphere in which the turkey had his native habitat is now Western, it was Eastern when that fowl received its names in Christendom."

-In the current number of the Architectural Record Prof. W. H. Goodyear treats in a

novel way the interesting subject of curves in the longer lines of ancient architecture. The title of his article, "The Origin of Greek Horizontal Curves," is curiously non descriptive of what is to follow, and the paper itself is written in very awkward English and with a contempt which almost seems wilful for the great virtue of consecutiveness in reasoning and in presentation of the subject. The paper is important, however. It contains an account of the discovery and the measuring of the curves and the sloping lines of the Parthenon, by Pennethorne, Hofer and Schaubert and Penrose, and mentions the little-known fact that Mr. Pennethorne discovered in 1833, and announced in his book forty years later, the existence of curves in the horizontal lines of the temple at Medinet Habu. The author's own contributions to knowledge in this unfamiliar field are contained in his account of measurements made in other Egyptian buildings, at Karnak, Luxor, and Edfu, and in the famous and often cited building at Nimes, the largest Roman temple except the round Pantheon which has kept its roof and its general outline for us, and the best-preserved Roman building we have, always with the same exception: the Maison Carrée. In this familiar friend of travellers and theme of writers and students he has found curves where straight lines had always been assumed-in the entablature, in the line of bases of the engaged columns, and in the stylobate on which those columns rest. The curves observed and verified by Prof. Goodyear are, however, in horizontal planes, not, like those of the Parthenon stylobate, so carefully set forth by Mr. Penrose, rising vertically, or nearly so, from the ends toward the middle. A horizontal curve in the seemingly level sky-line of a long building will of course produce the effect of up-and-down curvature when the spectator is placed on a much lower or a much higher level. And it is this which is the chief and most important series of facts which Mr. Goodyear has to announce. It is indeed important, and a great step in a progress toward full knowledge of a subject as yet little under-

-The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is jubilant over a vote of the Legislature on April 18, appropriating \$180,000 for the preservation and accommodation of the Society's collections. This sum is simply for the erection of a fire-proof building, a site for this and surrounding space sufficient to insure safety from fire being freely given by the University. This Wisconsin Society, organized in 1849, is not a year younger than the State. Its local habitation was first a corner in the Territorial capitol, then a disused prayer meeting roomthen half a church basement. In 1866, before the completion of the State capitol, it was installed in its three largest apartments except the legislative halls. Ten years ago a wing was added, largely for its use, to the State edifice, but this addition proved a disappointment. Architecturally it was not adapted to the needs of the Society, and it was so poorly built that it fell down in construction, killing several persons. The accumulations are fast outgrowing their quarters, and their weight threatens a collapse: Worst of all, the historical wing, itself by no means fire-proof, and the main body of the capitol where the carelessness of any one in a hundred employees would precipitate a conflagration, are as closely joined as the Siamese twins. Such a catastrophe has been already more than once a hair-breadth 'scape. Pondering these

facts, the Legislature, though times are hard, felt it wrong to leave its historic jewels longer "even in the force and road of casualty." The bound volumes in the Wisconsin Library are now 86,258, the pamphlets well-nigh the same number. Of its 8,000 files of newspapers, 735 date from before the year 1800. A full catalogue of this last department, with much bibliographical matter, is now in press. An alphabetical catalogue of seven volumes, including pamphlets, has been printed, and also several finding lists, as of works relating to the civil war, etc. A card catalogue is also completed. Twelve octavos filled with collections regarding the State's history have been published. In the museum are portraits of more than a hundred prominent pioneers, still more specimens of prehistoric pottery, Indian relics illustrative of aboriginal life, and a treasure of copper implements which, when ex hibited at the Philadelphia centennial, was adjudged the best in the world.

-The third volume of Mr. Conway's ' Writings of Thomas Paine' (Putnams) shows "Com mon Sense" deep in political agitation and speculation, first in England and then in France. Against the prosecutions set on foot against him in England he protests vigorously, reiterating the leading conclusions of his Rights of Man,' and valiantly attacking the placemen and pensioners," with Burke as their idol. With the American experience fresh in his memory, he naturally lays great stress upon a constitution; and it was while he was deep in his expositions to the English of the advantages of the American form of gov ernment that he was called to France a "citizen" and a member of the Convention. Mr. Conway's industry has brought to light a number of interesting papers prepared at this time and during Paine's imprisonment. After his release were penned the notorious bitter letter to Washington and the two pamphlets, Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance 'and 'Agrarian Justice,' both intended for English consumption. Returning to America, Paine wrote a series of letters to the "Citizens of the United States," valuable for the sidelight they cast on Revolutionary history. We cannot but think Mr. Conway's enthusiasm has led him to include what may not have been written by Paine. The paper on Royalty (p. 101) seems to call for some proof of its being Paine's, though none is given. We note some careless proof-reading. Corneille Paw is twice given "Cormelle, Paw," and Gen. Greene's name is twice misspelt. Sievès is, so far as we have observed, never accented correctly, and French names and words gene rally fare badly in this respect (see pp. viii, xiv, 4, 101, 127, etc.). On p. 164 we meet with "Colloit d'Herbois."

-Mr. Conway prints in full the remarkable series of memorials and letters addressed to Monroe by Paine when in the Luxemburg and apparently unknown to him when writing his 'Life of Paine.' We have read carefully this new and interesting material, with the editor's "historical introduction," in a spirit ready to be converted to his theory that Washington was the cause of Paine's imprisonment and condemnation to the guillotine, and that Morris was the deep plotter and responsible agent in this matter. We confess that we remain not only unconvinced, but of a belief that Mr. Con way has given a labored explanation of what is a very simple matter. Paine had accepted the title of "citizen of France." He sat in the Convention, representing a district of France,

received pay as a representative, assisted in framing a constitution for the State, and voted on every subject before the Convention-even on the King's death. He was associated with the faction opposed to Robespierre, and naturally fell under his displeasure. Any accusation in such troublous times would be sufficient to throw him into prison, and an American Minister could properly only question the legality of the act and ask that Paine be given a fair trial. Indeed, legality could hardly be pleaded when the will of a tyrant was supreme. That Morris, in great personal danger himself, could deliberately "plot" this imprisonment and carry it through, is doubtful, and is not proved by the documents. That Washington was active in it, is even more improbable, and it is hardly necessary to point to the President's failing intellect to account for such an improbability. We can no more accept Mr. Conway's charge against Morris of having kept Monroe out of office for a time, as Monroe in his letter freely explains that incideut, and without blame to Morris.

More raw material for the projected English Dialect Dictionary comes to us in the shape of three fresh issues of the English Dialect Society (London: Henry Frowde: New York: Macmillant. The most bulky and important of these is the conclusion of the Rev. Oliver Heslop's Glossary of Northumberland Words Mowband to Zi, which abounds, like the previous parts, in terms associated with the coaling industry of Newcastle-on-Tyne, with Bewick's art and literature. A "Newcastle cloak" is a perforated tub formerly clapt upon the head and shoulders of a drunkard like a poncho, and so worn through the streets in punishment. "Newcastle hospitality" was partly responsible for this degrading spectacle, as it implied an excessive supply of drink. "Newcastle roads" meant railways "originally made by laying down upon sleepers (dormants) two parallel wooden rails, each about four inches square." This was in the coal district as far back as 1632-1649. The settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony used freely many obsolete words of this vocabulary, as pink, 'an old-fashioned type of collier vessel,' and pind, 'to impound,' whence the New England town officer a pinder. The game shinny and the name still flourish among us, and skedaddle was revived (not adopted) on the Tyneside by its American vogue in the rebellion. Scunner |sb | for 'dislike,' through other for 'disordered,' whig for 'whey,' we have heard on the lips of Pennsylvanians. There is also a thinner Glossary of Words and Phrases used in S. E. Worcestershire, full of quaintness, as in the expressions atternone falks, 'people who are in the habit of beginning work late in the day,' iffing and offing, 'in a state of indecision.' The inhabitants of this district pronounce fault fawt, just as in Northumberland they say saat for salt. This glossary concludes with some entertaining folk-lore. Finally, we have the still slenderer Folk-Phrases of Four Counties (Gloucester, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire), in which we have marked an excess of amusing examples: "A face that would stop a clock"; "his hair is as straight as a pound of candles"; of filial resemblance-" his father will never be dead as long as he is alive," and in general, of a close likeness-"to be the very spawn of a person"; for saints, sinners, and the Beecher family-"the people of Clent are all Hills, Waldrons, or devils"; "'tis a blessed heat, though, as the old woman said when her house was on fire."

-We have received from Westermann & Co. the first of a series of treatises on the oldest Mappæmundi," edited by Dr. Konrad Miller of Stuttgart. The publication is intended to cover a comparison of the most significant world-maps now existing which are of earlier date than the fourteenth century, making it a convenient companion to Nordenskiöld's great atlas of engraved maps. This initial issue concerns the different codices of the comment on the Apocalypse written by the Spanish monk Beatus in the latter part of the eighth century, a treatise of interest to the students of the early cartography because there often goes with it a world-map, varying, of course, with the date of each particular transcript of the comment. Davezac, twenty-five years ago, had unearthed twenty-two of these codices in different parts of Europe; but Miller has increased the roll to thirty, mainly dating back to the interval between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Ten of these have the worldmap, and of these only three have before been known. He gives the first place to one now annexed to the St. Sever Codex in the great Paris Library. When this manuscript was received from the Marquis de Paulmy's collection in 1790, the map was lacking, but seventyfive years later it was recovered by Davezac, though at the time he did not recognize its connection with the St. Sever manuscript. Dr. Miller now gives us for the first time a full-sized facsimile in colors of this interesting map, and we read the legends clearly in his reproduction, which could not be done either in the representation given by Cortambert in 1877, or in the photographic copy published in 1883. The reproduction given by Kretschmer more recently in the great atlas published by the Berlin Geographical Society is a mere sketch, but it serves a good purpose in that collection among a series of world-maps of the Middle Ages. There is no branch of historical study receiving greater impetus from the fast-developing processes of reproduction than the study of the older maps.

SIMPKINSON'S LAUD.

Life and Times of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. By C. H. Simpkinson, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford, Rector of Farnham and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Winchester. With portrait. London: Murray. 1894. 8vo, pp. viii, 307.

Nothing can be less true than Carlyle's saying that the execution of Charles I. dealt at flunkeyism a blow of which it has gone about sick ever since. On few things has flunkeyism more manifestly thriven. Had Charles, like James II., died in exile, he would never have been Charles the martyr. Churches would never have been dedicated to him as a saint, nor would many copies of 'Eikon Basilike' have been sold. So with Laud. Had he been allowed to end his days in impotency and peace, the anniversary of his death would never have been commemorated, as it was the other day, by the High Church party, with solemn services and processions, nor would a panegyrical Life of him by Mr. Simpkinson have appeared. His execution, after a delay which doubled its cruelty, and with hardly a pretence of law, was the act of the morose Presbyterians, English and Scotch, the gloomy hour of whose ascendancy it marks. It was one of the worst deeds of the Civil War.

Macaulay's portrait of Laud is in his usual vein of rhetorical exaggeration. It depicts Laud's temper as "diabolical," represents him

as "hungering for Puritans to pillory and mangle," as "performing grimaces and antics in his cathedral," and "keeping a Diary which can never be seen without forgetting the vices of his heart in the imbecility of his intellect." Laud was testy, and perhaps sometimes insolent. He was reactionary, arbitrary as a ruler both ecclesiastical and political, and he took part, to his great discredit and ultimate ruin, in the infliction of cruel and ignominious punishments on some of the literary assailants of his system. But he was neither diabolical nor despicable. His Diary contains some evidences of a weak belief in dreams and omens, which, however, could hardly be taken as proofs of imbecility in the days in which the Sortes Virgiliance were consulted by men of no mean intellect, while astrology retained its hold on such a man of science as Kepler and such a man of action as Wallenstein. Macaulay winds up by calling Laud "a ridiculous old bigot." A bigot is exactly what Laud was not. He had neither the vices nor the excuses of that character. Hallam, whose judgment of the archbishop is severe enough, says, with truth, that he never showed bigotry in the usual sense of that word. His faults were those of a martinet. A natural propensity to regulate other people had been enhanced in him by the exercise of petty despotism in the headship of a college. An academical reformer and benefactor, both in an eminent degree, and really learned himself, he respected the privileges of learning in other men, and was not hostile to free inquiry when carried on by such inquirers as Hales. He wanted common people to abstain from the discussion of spiritual questions, and be satisfied with the truth provided for them by authority. He also wanted universal conformity to his system of church government and ritual. The nation refused to accommodate him in either respect, and so it and he came to blows.

Hallam seems to think it open to doubt whether Laud was even in reality religious. We can hardly share the doubt; but Mr. Simpkinson, who, for a rehabilitator and a hagiologist, is candid, not concealing or perverting facts, though he puts his own glosses upon them, fairly admits that his saint "was frankly ambitious," and had been long desiring to mount to high place before he got there. Nor was he squeamish about the ladder. His scandalous compliance with the guilty passion of Lord Mountjoy, whom he married to the divorced Lady Rich, is piously ascribed by the biographer to the ardor of friendship. Friendship is also the name given to his not less scandalous connection with the profligate Buckingham. As Bishop of St. David's, instead of residing in his diocese and doing his luty to his people, he remained at Court to push his fortunes. When Mr. Simpkinson speaks of the promotion of Abbot to the Primacy as an intrigue, he probably means little more than that the Puritan (which in his eves is the wrong) influence prevailed in that appointment. But it was certainly by an intrigue, and a very dirty intrigue, that Abbot was first, on pretence of his having committed an accidental homicide, disgraced and afterwards suspended in order to make way for the ascendancy of Laud. Laud's idea was that the best way of strengthening the Church was to put worldly power into the hands of bishops. Besides grasping the prime-ministership for himself, he got the treasurership for Juxon. and political offices for ecclesiastics in Scotland and Ireland. After Juxon's appointment, he flattered himself that he had done for the Church all that could be done. In fact, he had exposed her to fatal odium as the organ of arbitrary government, and paved the way for her overthrow. Mr. Simpkinson calls Laud's policy "a great experiment of ruling England by religion and for religion." "By bishops and for bishops," would have been nearer the truth. Could there be a doubt as to the monstrous impropriety and folly of thus uniting spiritual and temporal power in the same hands? The biographer labors to show that the army provided by Laud's Government for the subjugation of Scotland was sufficient. How came a minister of Christ to be meddling with armies at all?

Apart from Laud's infirmities of temper, and the special misdeeds into which they betraved him, it is not difficult to understand his ecclesiastical position and do justice to his aims. The Elizabethan combination of Catholicism and Protestantism under the form of a compromise did well enough, and might seem to its authors a triumph of their statesmanship so long as there was little life in either part of it. But when, by the teachings and efforts of High Church divines on one side and of Puritan and Presbyterian divines on the other, life had been awakened in both parts, a conflict inevitably ensued. It then appeared that the proper domain of compromise is interest, not conviction. Nothing could have averted the conflict but disestablishment, for which only a few extreme and persecuted sectaries were yet prepared; the Puritan and Presbyterian being not less firmly convinced than the Anglican of the duty of the State to maintain the true religion and compel all citizens to conform. Ritualism has too deep a seat in human nature and has reappeared too often to allow us to regard it as a mere exhalation from the pit of Tophet. It was a matter of course that High Churchmen like Laud should desire and should use such power as they possessed to introduce ritualistic order and ceremony, in which the Puritan, equally as a matter of course, saw the symbols and harbingers of Popery. The symbols and harbingers of Popery in truth they were. Mr. Simpkinson ridicules the suspiciousness of the Puritans, which did sometimes take absurd forms. But we have had the whole play acted over again in the present century. Newman and his party ridiculed the suspicions of the Protestant fools who said that their teachings and practices would lead to Rome. They maintained, just as Laud and his party had, that ritualism, instead of leading to Romanism, was its true antidote. In each case it proved that the fools were right, and that the principles of sacerdotalism, sacramentalism, and ritualism, from whatever source they may have been imbibed, have a tendency to draw men in the direction of the place to which they belong. This was shown in the time of Laud, as afterwards in that of Newman, by a secession to Rome, including several people of social and political prominence. The alarm created by Panzani's mission among the Protestants was perfectly just. What Laud's own leanings as to reunion with Rome were, we shall perhaps know better when the Roman archives have been thoroughly explored. Outwardly he maintained an anti-Papal attitude. From submission to the Papacy his love of power and pride of place would have deterred him. But he might have been willing, as Dr. Pusey was when he wrote his 'Eirenicon,' to come to terms with Rome if Rome would have consented to treat on an equal footing, which she never has done, and never, without ceasing to be herself,

The part of Mr. Simpkinson's work most open to exception, as it seems to us, is his treatment of the political character of Laud. This he tries to present as that of the minister of a popular monarchy wrestling with an aristocracy which defied the law and oppressed the people. Unquestionably there was an aristocratic element in the original opposition to Charles's Government, as well as a jealousy among the lay lords of the intrusion of churchmen into the great offices of state. The rebellion presented at first a faint analogy to the revolt of the feudal nobility of France against the autocratic and centralizing policy of Richelieu and Mazarin. But the men of London and other commercial cities who supplied the financial sinews of the movement were not aristocratic, nor were the freeholders of Buckinghamshire who rallied to the support of Hampden, or the veomen of the eastern counties who charged under Cromwell. There can be no reasonable doubt what Laud and Strafford in their secret correspondence meant by the watchword Thorough. Their aim was government by prerogative-absolute monarchy, in fact, though Parliamentary forms were to be maintained. It does not follow that they were not conscientious in that aim, or that there was not something to be said for enlightened autocracy against the rule of a popular assembly, as a popular assembly was in those days, before the diffusion of political knowledge or the existence of a press. We know that an autocracy enlightened by a Parliament was the idea of Bacon. Richelieu, no doubt, seemed to himself to have wrought a great and good work. So, in the repression of feudal anarchy, he had; but he had also, by centralization and absolutism, laid the train for the French Revolution.

VON HOLST'S FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The French Revolution Tested by Mirabeau's Career. Twelve lectures on the History of the French Revolution, delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass. By H. Von Holst. Chicago: Callaghan & Co. 1894. 2 vols., pp. 258-264.

Or the making of books on the French Revolution there is no end. The period has attracted, and continues to attract, writers of every type of thought and historians of every variety of ability and training. Philosophical writers declare of the Revolution, as Mirabeau declared of Paris, that the period is a sphinx whose secret must be dragged by force into the light of open day; but hitherto all their efforts have been in vain. Descriptive writers have used their best powers of imagination and their most hysterical diction in eudeavoring to portray the life of the most picturesque epoch in modern history; and they too have failed because they trusted to imagination rather than to the painful process of research. Serious-minded historians have, indeed, attempted to narrate the events of the Revolution with accuracy and precision, but they have been generally caught either by the Scylla of philosophical disquisition or in the Charybdis of picturesque word-painting.

The title of Dr. Von Holst's book accurately indicates its contents. He has neither written a history of the first two years of the French Revolution nor a life of Mirabeau, but, in his own words, has tested the Revolution by Mirabeau's career. The writing of history in the form of an elaborate and explanatory biography of some conspicuous figure has often been tried, but never with complete success.

Masson's 'Life of Milton' is probably the

most glaring example in the English language of the impossibility of effectively combining history and biography, and its failure has naturally warned off others from attempting the impossible. To the history of the French Revolution also the method has been applied. Hamel's 'Histoire de Robespierre,' for instance, is not only a biography of the Pontiff of the Supreme Being and an enthusiastic effort to defend his character and actions, but is also a history of the Revolution from the Robespierrist point of view. Dr. Robinet in his Danton, Georges Avenel in his Anacharsis Cloots,' and others, have found it necessary, in explaining or defending their heroes, to investigate minutely the history of their times, and have therefore written histories rather than biographies. Unfortunately, no skilled writer has yet attempted to deal with the lives of the only two men who played a conspicuous part in the Constituent Assembly, in the three distinct phases of the history of the Convention, and during the Directory, and whose careers were prolonged throughout the period of the Empire-namely, Merlin de Douai and Siey'salthough their lives would better illustrate the entire course of the history of the Revolution than those of political leaders like Robespierre and Danton, who did not survive to observe the immediate results of the period of storm and destruction. Dr. Von Holst had, however, most excellent reasons for selecting the career and character of Mirabeau as the peg on which to hang his reflections upon the history of the Revolution, for, although Mirabeau witnessed only the earliest scenes of the great drama, he was the only man of his time who understood the purport of what was passing in Paris and in France, and who possessed from his past experience and political genius an insight into the meaning of events.

The reputation of Mirabeau as a political philosopher has suffered from the fact that he has hitherto been studied solely as a principal actor in the early history of the French Revolution. It has been too much the practice to confine the study of political philosophy to the works of famous theorists like Hobbes and Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau, whose speculations have influenced the history of political thought, and to neglect the works of the few great practical politicians who considered polities as a science, and, relying on their experience rather than on theories, have stated conclusions of greater value to political philosophy than the vague imaginings of the writers who are generally designated political philosophers. In the whole range of literature since the days of Aristotle no writers have expressed so clearly or analyzed so accurately the passions, the hopes, the intentions, and the actions of men living in a state of political rest or political unrest as Machiavelli, De Retz, and Mirabeau, and these great thinkers were essentially practical politicians. A careful study of the 'Prince' and the 'Discourses on Livy' of Machiavelli, of the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, and of the Notes for the Court contained in the 'Correspondence of Mirabeau with La Marck, gives more insight into the probable action of men and of communities and of nations under any given conditions than all the speculations of the most distinguished theorists. From this point of view Mirabeau has never yet had justice done to him, and, with Machiavelli and De Retz, his importance as a political teacher of profound wisdom will never be recognized until political philosophy is rightly understood to mean something more than the examination of theories or the explanation of the incep-

tion and growth of existing political institu-

Von Holst-and it is not the least of his merits-understands Mirabeau's greatness as a political philosopher as well as a practical politician. But it is with the latter side of Mirabeau's character that he is mainly conrerned in his latest book. No previous writer has grasped more firmly the fact that Mirabeau's surpassing merit as a statesman lay in the fact that he thoroughly understood the political situation. While the vast majority of Frenchmen were dreaming reseate dreams of the peaceful regeneration of France, and fancying that a Declaration of the Rights of Man and representative institutions would peacefully inaugurate a new era for France, Mirabeau saw beneath the surface and understood that revolutions are not made with rose-water. and that anarchy was the almost inevitable result of the swinging back of the pendulum from despotism. The pathetic part of Mirabeau's destiny was that he could not make others see what he himself saw so clearly; his was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and the words of ripe wisdom and experience were wasted on the dull impotence of the Court and the excited expectations of the popular party. Clearly, although the task has been attempted before, does Von Holst set forth the efforts of Mirabeau to make the blind to see and the deaf to hear. Distrusted by the Court, which he alone could save, hated by the majority of the Constituent Assembly, which trembled at his oratory, feared his ambition, and could not comprehend his aims, he had to solace himself for being reduced to political insignificance with the ardent attachment of his personal friends and the love of the poorest classes in Paris, who dimly felt the greatness that was in him, and termed him, in their market slang, "our little mother Mirabeau." With justice and truth, Von Holst points the wisdom of Mirabeau and his vigorous efforts to save France from the disasters that were surely approaching, by dwelling on the benevolent ineptitude of Necker and the empty vanity of Lafavette. Again and again he insists on the lamentable behavior of Lafavette during the early period of the French Revolution, and with absolute sureness of judgment he says: "Not many persons who have cut a prominent figure in great times have lost so much by having the search-light of critical history turned upon them as Lafavette" (vol. ii. p. 58). But even if there had been no Lafayette and no Necker to oppose Mirabeau and to thwart his most cherished schemes, it does not follow that he would have succeeded in imposing his ideas on the Court or the people; his career previous to the Revolution had not unnaturally ruined his reputation, and it is not to be wondered at that respectable people found it hard to believe that the desperate roue, whose escapades and family troubles had made him notorious throughout France, was the one man able to see clearly the progress of events, and capable of directing it, Mirabeau himself knew that it was his bad reputation which nullified his political influence, and bitterly did he feel, when too late, the fatal result of his former passionate and disorderly life.

Dr. Von Holst disarms verbal criticism by stating in a prefatory note that he has published in the volumes under review the exact words of the lectures he delivered at the Lowell Institute. "This accounts," he says, "for some peculiarities of style. I have amply availed myself of the liberties deemed admissible in speaking. But I have undoubtedly

taken also other liberties with the English language, simply because I did not know any better." It is as a rule more agreeable to listen to popular lectures than to read them after they have been printed, just as it is more delightful to deliver lectures than to read the proof-sheets of their text as they pass through the press. Both these impressions are forced upon a critic by a careful and prolonged perusal of this 'French Revolution Tested by Mirabeau's Career,' which is chiefly valuable because the eminent historian confirms so strongly the opinion now generally held of the marked superiority shown by Mirabeau over all the statesmen of his time in genuine honesty, rare perspicacity, and profound political wisdom.

DEAN CHURCH.

Life and Letters of Dean Church. Edited by his daughter Mary C. Church, with a preface by the Deau of Christ Church. Macmillan & Co. 1894.

A SMALL duodecimo of 422 pp. is an agreeable variation from the biographies of Trench and Tait and Stanley, each in two volumes octavo, and the biography of Pusey, which doubles their amount, especially as it does not appear that Miss Church could not have successfully competed with the bulk of her forerunners' books. Such was the breadth of Church's mind that its various products might easily have tempted his biographer to an expansive exposition. Naturally the daughter did not care to be the critic of his life and writings, however well equipped she found herself for a sound appreciation; and to what little criticism we have here she has helped herself from others' hands, first in an elaborate preface by Dr. Paget, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, a son-in-law of Dean Church, a piece of admirable discrimination, and next in a section by Canon Scott Holland of St. Paul's, a very noisy celebration of the Dean's cathedral administration, in really painful contrast with the Dean's quiet tone and modest self-depreciation. There are also interesting recollections from Dr. Barrett, in 1894 the president of the Congregational Union. The book has one exasperating feature in common with all English ecclesiastical biography: it speaks of the Dean of this cathedral and the Bishop of that diocese without giving the name of the incumbent. Now, not only do these great men die, but, while they live, preferment is a movable feast, and they go from place to place. One must have a better memory than Macaulay's for his senior wranglers not to be baffled here even with a file of Whitaker's Almanack to fall back upon. A little trouble on the writer's part would save the reader a good deal.

The life of Dean Church lends itself with singular felicity to the purposes of his bio grapher. He went to Oxford when he was eighteen years old; he stayed at Oxford, as student and teacher, eighteen years, at Whatley nineteen, and then nineteen at St. Paul's. But Miss Church, instead of giving a chapter to each of these periods of so nearly equal length, has given only ten pages to his youth, and has incorporated these with the chapter which covers the entire period of his Oxford residence. Yet his youth had much of special interest, much that was influential on his later life. That this had in it not a little that made it strongly individual, and distinguished it agreeably from the lives of many others to whose party he belonged, is to some extent explained by the fact that his father was an

Irish merchant and his mother Anglo-German, that his grandparents were Quakers, and that his father was not "disunited" from their connection until 1814. This was the year of his marriage. Richard William Church, the subject of this memoir, was born at Lisbon April 25, 1815, where his father was engaged in business, but only till the next year, when he went to Italy and resided with his family in Florence until his death in 1828. Thus the boy had thirteen years of Italy, and they made a deep impression on his mind and heart. Leaving Florence when his father died, he did not visit it again for many years, but it remained for him the most fascinating place on earth, and his "Essay on Dante" has an accent of familiarity which no mere visit, however studious and prolonged, could possibly have given

His English schooling, like the latter part of Newman's, was intensely evangelical on the religious side, and when he went up to Oxford in 1833 he was sent to Wadham because it had a set of tutors noted for their evangelical sympathies. It was the very year of Keble's sermon (July 14), from which Newman dated the beginning of the Tractarian Movement. He met Newman and Keble for the first time in 1835, but his adhesion to the Tractarians was a matter of very gradual development. The letters are disappointing because they add so little to what we know already of the Movement in "the joyous swing of its advance" before the days of opposition and defeat. We have little even of young Church's personal impressions, mainly because his letters of the time were largely to his mother, and he softened to her as much as possible the sorrow which he knew his Newmanism would entail. His translation of St. Cyril for Newman's series in 1837 marked his definite adhesion, and when in 1838 he was a successful candidate for the Oriel Fellowship, it was understood that he was Newman's man. Mark Pattison was a competitor, and to him we are indebted for the contemporary testimony of another: "There is such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him."

For the meagreness of the story here there is less call for sorrow because in the Dean's 'Oxford Movement' (1891) we have the best account of it that has yet been written. The exception to the average thinness is a long letter to Frederic Rogers, late Lord Blachford, the dearest friend that Church and Newman had in common, about the appearance of Tract 90, and Newman adds a postscript about "the scrape he had got into." Church's interest in the matter was profound. it is obscured by his humorous treatment of it, especially of Golightly's active and malicious subjection of it to his purposes in paying Newman off for a personal affront. Another letter to Rogers, in 1843, gives an elaborate and very humorous account of the row excited by the degree given to Edward Everett, then American minister to England, and understood to be a Socinian. It was pleaded in extenuation that he conformed in England and would sign the Apostles' Creed. The degree was smuggled in by the Vice Chancellor under cover of the uproar that prevented him (he said) from hearing the non-placets. The same year saw Pusey's suspension, and the secessions to Rome were getting ominous; but Church never felt himself to be in any danger. He was one of the proctors at the time of Ward's degradation in February, 1845; and when in connection with that it was proposed to condemn 'Tract 90,' their veto interposed an obstacle to this which could not be overcome.

Nevertheless Newman's secession was consummated in the following October. Church was the last of his old friends to visit him on the eve of his departure, but after that they had no communication of any kind for fourteen years. Then the old friendly relations were resumed, and Newman was a visitor at Whatley and made his home at the Deanery during his London visits. Church's letters afford many interesting glimpses of the oratorian and cardinal. His children send him 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,' confident of his admiration. In and between the lines Newman's cordial dislike of Manning comes out plainly enough. Stanley's relations to Church at Oxford are particularly interesting because of their subsequent relations in London as Deans of Westminster and St. Paul's, with quite opposite ecclesiastical ideals. Always attractive in his depiction of personal character, Church is never more so than in his letter about Stanley, written soon after his death. Stanley had been very kind to him, and he could not help seeing that the kindness was for him personally, in spite of the line he took and the company he kept. It would appear that, in general. Church was much less dependent on ecclesiastical agreement than Stanley as a basis for friendship or esteem. Nothing in these pages is more beautiful than his cordial appreciation of men from whom he was separated ecclesiastically by an impassable gulf.

In 1852 he went to Whatley, an agricultural village of 200 people near Wells, in Somersetshire. The chapter devoted to his life there is the most interesting in the book, but the interest has very little to do with his duties as a parish clergymen. Concerning these there is little said; but, for "the quiet and still air of delightful studies," there could not be a better place, nor for the friendships that afford us entrance to the secrets of his beautiful and pleasant mind. Church's interest in science is a circumstance that will make his ecclesiastical position more problematical than any other. He wrote so intelligently of the discovery of Neptune that he elicited Le Verrier's ardent approbation. He corresponded frequently with Dr. Asa Grav, the Harvard botanist, and in perfect sympathy with his Darwinian opinions. He was no late convert to these, but, before the appearance of Darwin's epoch making book, took kindly to the famous 'Vestiges.' and in general to the idea of organic evolution. He wondered at the "shortness of thought" that found Darwinism incompatible with ideas of a spiritual order in the world. But towards the 'Essays and Reviews' that came out almost simultaneously, he was much less sympathetic, though the little finger of Darwin was thicker than the loins of that in its suggestion of a coming change. Applauding Darwin, he at the same time applauds Mozley's Bampton lectures on Miracles, and regrets "Stanley's insensibility to the immeasurable difference that miracle or no miracle makes in our ideas of religion." In fact there seem to be two Churches in the field-one secular, scientific, historical, literary, human; the other traditional, ecclesiastical, apologetic. And there are not wanting intimations that the basis of his mind was sceptical, and that he clung to the traditional opinion the more resolutely because he dared not trust himself to his own strength in the wide stream of modern thought,

The change from Whatley to St. Paul's was a remarkable one in point of worldly standing, but many will feel that it was not favorable to Church's genius. He did good work in literature in connection with his cathedral charge, notably the 'Spenser' and the 'Bacon' in the

"English Men of Letters," but he would have done much more in the Whatley rectory. He was too good to waste on the details of business management which a much smaller man could have attended to as well or better. Classed as a Puscyite and Ritualist, he was very different from Pusey in the breadth of his intelligence and sympathy, in the uncloistered quality of his learning and his thought; and as for ritualism, he cared little or nothing for its vestments and its posturings. What he did care for was the liberty of worship in the English Church. Nothing in his letters is so surprising as the absence of any desire on his part to make his way the universal law of doctrine or of ritual. The man is never lost in the official personage, however sometimes fettered and obscured. We always know that he is there with his beautiful intelligence and gentle heart, a man whose praise must be extremely sweet for those who are alive, to find it here; as where it is written of Mr. Goldwin Smith, "I think he has given us up too soon. So much nobleness and elevation are a loss to any society, and we can hardly spare him.

His letters have the apparently inevitable felicity of style that marks his various books, and it is interesting to find one of them written at the request of some one who would learn the secret of his charm. He can only say that he has watched against the temptation to use unreal and fine words, and read good English, Newman's in particular, with Shakspere's, Wordsworth's, and the rest. It is eloquent for his catholicity that Lucretius was his favorite classic, and Matthew Arnold's books an indispensable resource. But the evidences of this quality are many. His character was transcendent of all sectarian distinctions, and the adherents of every sect will find much to profit them in this practically autobiographic record of his scholarly and thoughtful life.

A History of Spain, from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic. By Ulick Ralph Burke, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xx, 384; viii, 360.

WE confess to a certain prejudice when taking up these volumes, for there is so much so called history encumbering library shelves which is only pouring old wine into new vessels that the presumption is against the new claimant on the reader's attention. A fairly close examination of the book has, however, won our respect both for it and for its author. It is true that there is but little new material from inedited sources, but Mr. Burke has sedulously drawn his information from a very wide range of reading, not only on his direct subject, but on all related collateral topics; he has sifted out the more important points and has presented them clearly and impressively. A trust worthy history of Spain within moderate compass, presenting the results of recent researches, is a desideratum for English readers. and this he has succeeded in giving us, from the time of the Roman conquest to the advent of Charles V. and his dreams of a universal monarchy. No land in Europe has a history so varied and so romantic, in none is the national character so sharply accentuated, and it would require especial talents of the Dryasdust order to render the story dull. Mr. Burke has a keen eye for the picturesque, and the antitheses and contrasts of Peninsular annals lose nothing at his hands. Occasionally, indeed, the cautious reader may regard his judgments as too absolute or too vigorously expressed, but this exuberance is pardonable in one who evidently feels an intense interest in the events of

his narrative, and an intense pleasure in the narration, and his conclusions as a rule are just, although more moderation in the presentment might be desirable.

There are occasional marks of hasty composition, which a careful revision or a friendly proof-reader would have removed. blanches (i. 305) does not mean plate-armor of white steel, but edged weapons as distinguished from fire-arms. Sciarra Colonna did not cuff Boniface VIII. in the Vatican, but at Anagni (i. 286). There was no massacre at Carcassonne in the Albigensian crusades (i. 207, 208). "The enlightened Gregory XIII." was not Pope till a hundred years after the act attributed to him (ii. 189, 190). Confiscation was not an innovation introduced in the Inquisition of Ferdinand and Isabella (ii. 110), but had been remorselessly enforced from the thirteenth century. In vol. ii., p. 173, the battle of Seminara is described as a defeat for the Spaniards, and on p. 175 as a victory. On p. 103 the Inquisitor Torquemada is said to be the nephew of the cardinal of the same name, and on p. 104 is spoken of as his cousin. Such mistakes as these are trifling, and in no way detract from the substantial merits of the work, which we trust may pass to another edition and give the author the chance of removing them, for he evidently is one who is not disposed to spare himself in the perfection of his labors. Possibly in such a revision he may be able to introduce some improvement in the arrangement. He alludes in his preface to the difficulty he encountered as to this, which is self-evident from the very nature of a composite history of halfa-dozen warring States eventually united; but surely it was not necessary to sandwich an elaborate chapter on Spanish music between a narrative of the stirring events which placed Ferdinand and Isabella on the throne and a description of the measures which the new sovereigns took to reorganize the State.

The researches of Dozy have effectually stripped off the legendary glamour which so long glorified the protracted war of the Recon quest, and have enabled us to compare with some approach to accuracy the comparative civilizations of the courts of Cordova and Oviedo-not much to the advantage of the latter. Mr. Burke is under no illusions and does not allow his readers to remain under any The picture he draws of mediaval rapacity and faithles ness is repulsive but true, and may serve to relieve the regrets of those who grieve over the progressive deterioration of modern times. His presentation of the character of Isabella is far removed from the rhapsodical adoration which has surrounded her with an aureole, and is fairly just, though we think he estimates unduly her share in the rehabilitation of the kingdom. The portrait presented of Ferdinand is, perhaps, too highly colored, for though it would be difficult to exaggerate the evil portion of his nature, he was not wholly bad according to the standard of the period. He was simply a typical man of his time, and his time was one which had few redeeming features. The sketch presented of his miserable ending, after a life of almost uninterrupted success, is vigorous and impresive, and conveys a wholesome lesson as to the worthlessness of human ambition.

We shall be glad to meet Mr. Burke again, especially if he will complete his work by carrying out the history of Spain from its apogee under the early Hapsburgs to its perigee under the later Bourbons.

The Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Newly collected and edited, with memoir, critical introductions, and notes, by Edmund Clarence Stedman and George Edward Woodberry. Vols. I.-III. Chicago: Stone & Kimball. 1895. FORTY FIVE years have elapsed since the collected works of Edgar Allan Poe were published by his literary executor, Dr. Rufus William Griswold. The recent expiration of copyright has been taken advantage of by Messrs. Stone & Kimball for the publication of a revised and probably definitive edition in ten volumes. The editors, Prof. G. E. Woodberry and Mr. E. C. Stedman, have collated the various texts published during Poe's life, and, aided by his own marginal MS, notes, have doubtless arrived at the form finally approved by him. They have not tried to show the nature of Poe's revision of his probut have given a complete variorum of the

To Mr. Woodberry has fallen the somewhat difficult task of writing the introductory memoir, the bare sketch of the author's unfortunate and unlovely actual life. The facts Mr. Woodberry has to deal with are not pleasant: by contrast with the brilliancy of Poe's life rary achievement, they are pitifully sorded and squalid. The things he is known to have done need all the benefit of stress upon what he resisted to make him appear, outside of his genius, worthy of any more kindly sentiment than telerant contempt. This memoir seems to us to express contempt without tolerance. The tone is given not by the necessary narration of that sequence of disasters entailed by Poe's constant relapses into drunkenness and by his vain and irritable temper, but by the mention of insignificant incidents which, in a short memoir not designedly consorious, might as well have been emitted. Such are the refernces to his questionable method of increasing his reputation; his untruthfulness in trifles; his working off on an admiring lady a poem long before addressed to a predecessor in his homage, and other unimportant but depreciatory facts. Prof. Woodberry is not guilty of deliberate disparagement, for he includes the best testimony to be found in Poe's favor; but be gives the impression of one whose attitude is not merciful to a fellow man whose worst faults were as surely congenital as was his

To Mr. Stedman is allotted the far more grateful duty of the literary introduction. That to the five volumes of tales (included in the first volume) displays the best critical spirit, being illuminative and sympathetic, ordial yet temperate. It shows how naturally the tales fall into well-defined groups, discusses their animating motives, form, and style, and their author's strength and limitations. Especially valuable as a corrective of barsh impressions derived from the memoir is his comment on the man as revealed in the work He finds all of that, even the tales composed with purely artistic intent, vividly self-explanatory. "Their author," he says, "was a being of extreme physical and spiritual sensibility, proudly reliant upon his mental force, and terribly cognizant of his infirmities; so intent upon the one and the other as to bound a world by his own horizon." This seems to us an exact expression of the problem of Poe's character. The clearest inference from his work is that nothing really was for him except his own imagination, his own intellect, his own temperament. Unfortunately, his recognition of his defects took the shape of passionate resentment, passionate exculpation, minute reasoning-why, not of cool criticism; hence the intensity of self-presentation in fiction and the woful failure in living.

The new edition is in every respect a very beautiful one, a fitting tribute to an apostle of the creed that "in perfect beauty consists the fullest Truth."

Veher Vorkommen und Gewinnung der nutzbaren Mineralien in der Südafrikanischen Republik (Transvaal), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Goldbergbaues: Bericht . . . von Schmeisser, Bergrath. Mit 19 Karten und Tafeln. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer. Pp. 150.

THE teachings of political economists and scientists, notably of the great Austrian geologist, Prof. Ed. Suess, also a financier and member of Parliament, who attempts to prove in his published works that the available supply of gold in the earth's crust is already showing signs of exhaustion, had produced so much uneasiness in Germany as a gold-standard country that, under the direction of the Minister of Commerce and Industry, one of its official mining engineers, Herr Schmeisser, was sent in the summer of 1893 to the gold-fields of South Africa to examine into the mineral resources of that region and report upon its industrial conditions and the probable permanence of its supply of gold. The report, which has recently been published in a handsome royal 8vo volume, with abundant maps and sections, as the result of his four months' examination, is most opportune at the present moment, when gold-mining has received such a sudden awakening the world It has hitherto been difficult to learn what little is accurately known with regard to the geology or industrial conditions of this far distant region, and most accounts have appeared to be tinged with the exaggeration common to new mining districts. Herr Schmeisser's report deals, in German thoroughness, not only with the geology and mineral resources of the country, but also with its history and politico-legal relations, and has apparently been prepared with discrimination and due conservatism, yet his cold statement of facts shows a condition of things that might readily have aroused the most phlegmatic nature to enthusiasm.

As not only the language but the figures are intended for a German audience, we present a few of the striking facts in an English dress. The great bulk of the gold product of South Africa comes from the Witwatersrand district, though there are many other mining districts in which valuable auriferous quartz veins exist, and where already important mines have been opened. In the Witwatersrand the gold is found in beds (there called "reefs") of conglomerate, of which there are some forty or fifty in a sort of basin which dips southward in the Orange Free State. It has been considered by some that these conglomerate beds are old placer deposits, but the microscopical examination of specimens brought back by Herr Schmeisser seems to negative this idea. The outcrops of these beds have been traced for about fifty miles, but only a small number of the beds, and these for not more than a fifth of the distance, are at present actively developed. Within this area there were over seventy active mines in 1893, the deepest workings of which were not over 500 feet below the surface. Drill cores had been obtained, however. from five times this depth, which showed that conglomerates exist at that point which are equally rich with those in the mine workings.

The fact that the product of the mines is re-

ported in unrefined gold, which varies in value, introduces an element of uncertainty into the figures of production, which are given here, however, in the estimated equivalent in fine gold. The product of the Witwatersrand district has increased from less than \$500,000 in 1887 to over \$26,000,000 in 1893. Herr Schmeisser estimates that the product for 1894 will be found to be \$36,000,000, and that this will be doubled in less than ten years. He also enters into a somewhat elaborate calculation of the amount of gold that will have been produced in this district when the mine workings in the area now developed shall have reached vertical depths of 2,500 and 4,000 feet respectively, at which he considers it possible that the ores may still be extracted at a profit. These figures, which are in general accord with the estimates already made by the American mining engineer, Hamilton Smith, are for the lesser depth 1,070 millions of dollars, which is approximately the gold product of California up to 1890, and for the greater depth 1,745 millions, which is but little less than that of the whole United States up to 1892. If the estimates of Herr Schmeisser for South Africa and of Director Preston for the United States of the gold product for 1894 prove correct, the world's gold product for that year will exceed 180 millions, which is nearly 40 per cent. greater than that of 1891, and is double that of 1874.

The British Fleet. By Commander Charles N. Robinson, R.N. With illustrations. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan.

WE have, in this stout but not unhandy volume, an interesting treatise upon the functions, organization, administration, and personnel of the British fleet. The subject is dealt with exhaustively, so far as the size of the volume will permit, and in an authoritative manner, both as to the origin of the navy, its history, and its present state.

The first part of the book, dealing with the functions of the navy, discusses the subject of naval power. The author credits Prof. Seeley, in his 'Expansion of England,' with having to some extent first recognized the true place of the navy in English history; but no writer has so ably expounded the real meaning of naval history as Capt. Mahan of our own naval service, though Vice-Admiral Colomb is regarded as the chief English authority for the ruling principles of naval warfare. The dawn of sea power is dated about the time of the discovery of the New World, which made a pathway of the ocean that had been heretofore a limit, and which changed the centre of gravity in affairs in the Old World from Italy and the countries of the Mediterranean to those bordering upon the Atlantic Ocean. In discussing the various changes in the sovereignty of the seas-a sovereignty not recognized by the laws of nations, but of whose existence, subtle but positive, there is no doubt either now or in the past - Commander Robinson quotes what Washington many times said, that to the independence of the American colonies the French navy was all-important. "Upon decisive naval superiority," Washington wrote, "every hope of success must ultimately depend." But our author, with others, draws a lesson from the Franco-Spanish coalition of this war, as well as from the similar coalition during the wars of the French Empire, respecting the inherent weakness of maritime coalitions. This lesson should be commended to those who favor an Anglo-American naval

coalition, with the inevitable naval (and political) subordination of the weaker naval power.

In giving an interesting account of the flags and signals, past and present, of the British navy, the author dates the custom of carrying the national colors from an international agreement made in 1297, about which time are mentioned instances of ships hoisting false colors with a view to deceive; some Spanish vessels attacking English ships under the Portuguese national flag. The established custom of the present day allows the use of false colors to entice an enemy within reach, but forbids the exercise of any hostile act under any other flag than that of the nation to which the vessel belongs.

The second part of the book treats of the administration of the English navy. The wretched victualling and hygiene of the early days were probably no worse than those of the French, who used to have the custom of temporarily burying the dead, after action, in the ballast stowed in the bottom of the ship. Much curious information is given as to early laws and customs in both the navy and the merchant service of England, taking us back to what was known as the laws or Code of Oléron. These laws, though upholding the authority of the captain of a merchant vessel, especially enjoined upon him to take the opinion of the crew under certain circumstances (as to the weather, for instance), and requiring him to be governed by the decision of the majority. The treatment of the wounded, even as late as the time of the Restoration, when surgeons' warrants were bought and sold, can be imagined from Pepys's description of a man he saw just back from a fight with the Dutch, with a plug of oakum filling the socket from which he had

But Commander Robinson does not confine himself to matters of the past; he describes in terse and graphic language the state of the British navy of to-day, less as to its material than as to its personnel, without which the service is nothing. He gives interesting details of the requirements for officers and men, which have gone far to make the English naval service not only the most efficient navy of the present time, but upon the whole the most efficient that the world has known. Of the requirements exacted of the officers, he says: 'The high qualities which would have sufficed to make an efficient naval officer in Nelson's time would no longer be sufficient, at supreme moments, in these days. Every step in mechanical invention as applied to ships of war, every new complexity, every added means of attack or power of defence, has added, little by little, to the burdens borne by naval men. until at length to those placed in full command the charge might well appear unsupportable." Of the seamen he says: "These men also must possess the high qualities of moral and physical courage in such degree that they may stand calm and ready in the presence of dangers they can neither measure nor wholly understand.'

Upon a question much under discussion in our own service he fully agrees with those who believe that our seamen, like our ships, can no longer be improvised, but that the training must be begun in boyhood, when the sense of duty and discipline can be awakened and the qualities of will and courage developed so that responsibility will be met without shrinking and danger without fear. Most of the officers of the British navy, and those whose opinion is counted of the greatest value, believe that the best qualities of a

seaman in bravery, hardibood, quickness of eye, and alertness can be developed only by a course of training under sails. The training of the officers and men of the British naval service is intended to be a war training, and its efficiency is tested by the annual manceuvres and the celerity of previous mobilization. With the advantages gained by rapidity of movement in these days, the efficiency of a navy depends largely upon the quickness of assemblage of men and material. The pathway of the sea is always open to the ready fleet, and the maritime frontier is now recognized by the strategic authorities of the day as the enemy's coast line and his seaports.

We can most heartily commend this book to all interested in naval matters.

An Introduction to the Study of Society. By Albion W. Small and George D. Vincent. American Book Co. 1894.

"Sociology," say the authors, is "the organization of all the material turnished by the positive study of society." It is first "de scriptive": i. e., it gives an account of Society as it is; second, "statical -- the ideal which right reason discloses of Society as it ought to be; third, dynamic-the available resources for changing the actual into the ideal." This is obviously a large field, and our conception of its extent is not lessened when we are told that descriptive sociology alone is concerned with all the positive knowledge of man and of society included under "Biology, Anthropology, Psychology, Ethnology, Demography, History, Political and Economical Science, and Ethics." Surely Jurisprudence ought to be added to this list, though perhaps it, together with Art, Literature, Music, and Architecture, is included under History.

We shall not attempt any elaborate criticism of this hand book, but merely wish to point out that it has the usual peculiarities of treatises on this subject, peculiarities which may tend to explain why the science of sociology does not make the headway that its devotees would like. In the first place, the authors begin by showing that the teachers of the science have never agreed upon what its fundamental dogmas are. Comte was the first of them, and Professor Lester F. Ward, who has made himself responsible for two sociological treatises. one on 'Dynamic Sociology,' and the other on 'The Psychic Factors of Civilization,' is, according to the authors, the latest. And this is the way in which Professor Ward speaks of Comte: "So far as M. Comte's views on social status are concerned, they may be classed as generally unsound; but with him this is nothing new." As for Herbert Spencer, the authors say that his sociology "ends precisely where sociology proper should begin." we cannot find anywhere in the book any evidence that the various writers on sociology have agreed upon a single fundamental doc trine of their science. Now it is generally admitted that a branch of knowledge cannot be classed among the sciences unless there is an agreement of this sort among its teachers Sociology, therefore, as presented to us by Messrs. Small and Vincent, no more demon strates its claim to existence as a science than astronomy would if we found some astronomers insisting that the sun went around the earth and others contending that the earth went around the sun. Before the world can accept sociology, in the way, for instance, that it accepts economic science, there must be a consensus of opinion as to what it tells us. No and fair. It has those two qualities which,

doubt there is in economic science, as in every other science dealing with man, room for a great deal of controversy and difference of opinion, but that there is at the bottom of it a body of systematic truth, capable of exposition, as to the main points of which its teachers are agreed, is the only thing that keeps it in the rank of sciences.

Another peculiarity of sociology is that, while it professes to be the crown of all the sciences, its method seems to be such as has never hithert produced any science, certainly any science dealing with man. The process by which the truths of political economy are arrived at, has been described very justly as a process of abstraction. We look at man from one point of view only-as a wealth-producing animal. For this purp se we neglect for the time all his other attributes, cease to think of him as a husband, father, son, or brother, warrior. artist, or diplomatist, and consider him as gov. erned solely by economical motives. Of course, we are all well aware that a modern school of writers says this is all wrong, and very "narrow," and that it would be much higher and nobler to consider man in all the fulness of his attributes; but what we desire to point out is that this is not the way in which the science was created, or in which any generally accepted additions to it have been made. In the same way, if we examine such a body of truth with regard to man as is to be found in the pages of the 'Federalist,' we find that it has been arrived at by studying man as a political animal-and nothing else. The same thing is true of law, All the attempts made to evolve a science of law have been founded on the study of man as a law producing and law-obeying animal

Sociology is the only science in which the attempt is made to reverse this process; indeed, it reverses it ex vi termini. It introduces itself to our notice as the one science which, instead of proceeding by abstracting some one human tendency and considering that, undertakes to put together all the sciences relating to man in society and to tell us what the result is. But we ask at once, How can this be done! Man has a great many different and opposite tendencies; so has society. A synthesis of the whole would not be science: it could be the work only of omniscience.

If what we have said be true, such books as that before us are thoroughly misleading, because they teach the young to attempt the unattainable. When the authors say, for instance, that "so all doctrine which omits to take account of all available hiological data. is obviously partial and premature," we can only point out in reply that all the body of truth which we possess about man in society has been attained by people who have paid about as much attention to "all available biological data" as they have to c unterpoint. Of course with sociology in the sense of the sum of all the knowledge that we have about man in society, no one can quarrel; but that, in our authors' view, would never do. A cycle of social sciences will not content them. What they insist upon is a brand-new science, which puts the others all together and evolves new truth from the compound. But when we modestly ask. What is it they reply only in the mysterious language we have quoted above.

The Real Chinaman. By Chester Holcombe, Dodd, Mead & Co. 1805.

DESPITE its manifest limitations, this work is destined, we think, to take high rank in the army of books on China. It is calm, clear,

while necessary, are almost invariably lacking in the works of men who try to interpret the Chinese to us Western folks. It is really very uncertain which, in mutual relations, is the more hidebound, conservative, and bigoted in his notions, the average Chinaman or the average American. The first requisite, therefore, in trying to get two men of antipodally different worlds to understand each other is fairness. Mr. Holcombe, who spent more than fifteen years in China as missionary, interpreter, secretary of legation, and acting Minister. of the United States, was and is, above all, at home in the language. He could understand both the compliments and the anathemas of Chinese, both high and low. He has been able, through familiarity with the vernacular literature, to see the moulds of thought and to know what ideas are foreign to the mind of the sons of Han. Fortunately for those who want to get at the truth, he attempts no defence, apology, criticism, or panegyric. He simply explains, and he does this with such a wealth of anecdote, narrate a fram exper and clear interpretation that we can fully and frankly stamp his work as the honest verdet of a judicially minded man. We are even in clined to believe that he has told the truth in certain chapters that will cause some little private irritation, and possibly profanity; for it is an open secret that the American Legation in Poking has not always been the elect place or means to assist the Chinese in understanding the best thought, purpose, or behavior of Americans.

What is still more remarkable about the book is, that it is positively interesting. We have read every word from the top of the title-page to the bottom of the last chapter, and we have been led along as if in a novel to the place where the index ought to be. The book is positively lively. There are some defeets, however, which are manifest to the student. The author is uncritical in his methodhe seems to accept the fabulous and imm-a surable eras of antiquity as if these were his torical spaces well plotted out with indisputable landmarks of chronology. He seems to have very little insight into religious growth, and to be unacquainted with the methods and results of the study of comparative religion. There is a certain Chinese-likeness of mind in the book itself. The English is not immaculate, despite its limpid flow and charming style. So often does the author speak of a "custom as old as the Empire" that one is tempted to find in Mr. Holcombe's book a fresh argument for the late lamented Professor Lacouperie's thesis that civilization came from Chaldean regions in a substantially perfect form and was at once adopted by the Chinese, so that it has had neither decay nor growth. In furnishing his book with abundant illustration, the author has studied truth rather than art, all the pictures being reproduced from photographs. As they issue from the acid in tones which are sometimes " half" and sometimes a good deal less than half, we have the truth, as it were, out of the bottom of the well, undressed, and occasionally bedraggled.

The initial chapter pictures in strong light and with consummate skill that old world of Chinese Asia, now fast passing away, in which the Middle Kingdom was surrounded by vassal or pupil nations; the Chinese Emperor being the sun which shed light, and the sun of Heaven which gave rule, to the peoples who basked in the favor of the mighty orb, beside which they were as planets. Japan was the erratic and dangerous comet. Between China and the great circle of nations there was a

definite and well-understood relationship and intercourse established. Japan was the one exception, destined in due time to shatter and dissolve the system. The chapter on the government of China is one that could have been written only by one familiar with what goes on behind the scenes. With surprising freshness the author treats of the language, and adds the sauce of humor by serving up on his literary bill of fare the amusing blunders of missionaries and diplomatists. The home life of the people is set before us attractively, but in Chinese social life there is no woman's world. When, despite the explanations and protestations of Mr. Holcombe, a certain American minister at Peking insisted on congratulating the grandees of the Foreign Office upon the marriage of an honored Chinese envoy to an American lady, the only result was a silence that reminded one of the North Pole. Then, after prolonged terror and stupor, Prince Kung remarked, "It is very hot today." The chapter on religion does not add much to our scientific knowledge, but is attractively set forth. More clearly and convincingly than any of the writers that we have specially consulted on the subject, Mr. Holcombe explains the real facts in regard to socalled infanticide. It is not that Chinese parents systematically cast out their female children, declining to rear them, especially when sickness or famine prompts to exposure. but it is rather in bondage to the idea of demoniacal possession that they daily fill the dead-carts, and dump in heaps their awful loads on the rubbish-heaps. When a child falls sick, Chinese parents will equal the mothers and fathers of Christian homes in

trying to save the child's life; but the moment they discover that nursing and remedies are of no avail, they place the child, usually naked, in an outer room, regardless of season or temperature, to see whether it will live or die. If it lives, it is a true human being. If it dies, it was an evil spirit come to torment and defile the family. Such a changeling or incarnation cannot be reared, or buried in the ancestral grave. Hence the awful mortality of children. Luminous and interesting descriptions of the courts of law, the civil-service examinations, etiquette and ceremony, trade and its tricks. and finance make up a singularly valuable and timely book on a subject of real interest.

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